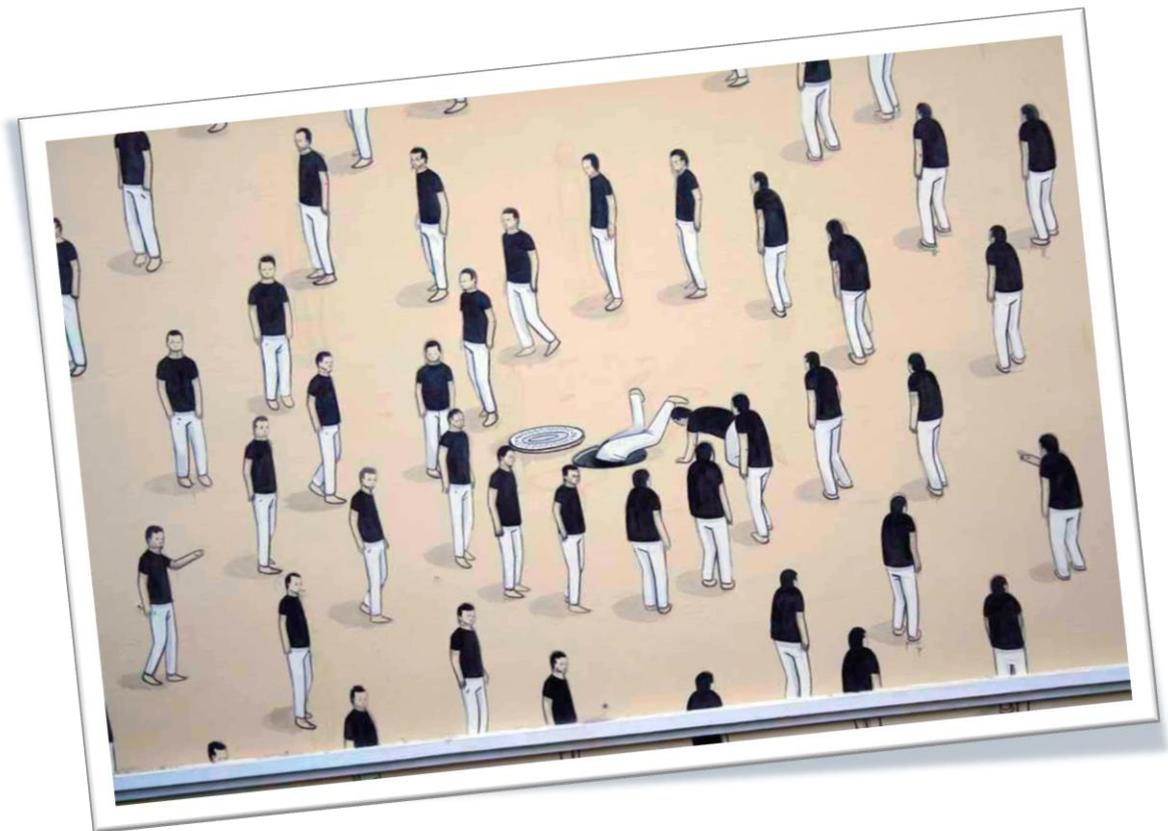

MASTER THESIS INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

“THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN”:

THE RISE OF CRISIS-INDUCED SPANISH MIGRATION TO MOROCCO



STUDENT:	LOTTE ROOIJENDIJK
STUDENT NR:	3841219
SUPERVISOR:	DR. J. SCHAPENDONK
INSTITUTION:	UNIVERSITY OF UTRECHT
DATE:	16-10-2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

There is nobody who ever wrote a thesis, a scientific paper or a monograph that I have to convince about the fact that writing such, is something that does not go by itself and that you can definitely not do this alone. It is a long process that requires concentration from yourself and support and patience from your surroundings. I found out that writing is a process of long periods of rest, alternating with eruptions of very high productivity. It would have been impossible to write this thesis without the help and support of the great people around me, to only some of whom it is possible to give particular mention here.

First of all, I sincerely would like to express my gratitude to my respondents who enabled me to do this research in the first place. Your willingness and openness to talk about every aspect of your lives have truly inspired me. With one of you in particular, I have developed a close friendship which has proven to be really valuable to me. Thank you Pedro, I will be forever thinking of our great times.

Furthermore, my thanks go out to several scientists and professionals in the field who provided me with useful insights and helped me in the process of my research. In particular, Dr. Bernabe Lopez Garcia and PhD-researcher Mercedes Jimenez, thank you for your interest and support in my research. In the professional field I would like to thank both journalists, Samir Daoudi for bringing me in contact with several Spanish migrants, and Melinda Mrini for taking me along during the production of the reportage on Spanish migration in Tangier.

I greatly acknowledge the supervision, patience and feedback provided by Dr. Joris Schapendonk, Junior Assistant Professor in Human Geography and Planning during the whole research period. Thank you Joris, for your worthy guidance along the road, and for finding the time to guide me through my writing despite your recent 'migration' to the Radboud University.

Also, I would like to thank my sister and my friends, who have supported me during every day and have always believed in me. In particular, Bregje, thank you for your unequivocal support throughout, as always, for which my mere expression of thanks likewise does not suffice. Kevin, thank you for your infinite hospitality and your computer in times of need. And Marloes, thank you for sharing your creativity as regards to the migrant book. With friends I also mean the new ones in Tangier. You are fun, generous, interesting and smart epicureans that have made my time in Morocco never-to-be-forgotten. Especially you Zouhair, I loved your company, and I am very grateful you took care of me like my mother would do when I needed it most. And Laia, our Spanish sessions including food, discussions and laughter always got me motivated again, and your help with transcribing my interviews was indispensable.

The last and greatest word of thanks goes out to my parents, Arie and Thea Rooijendijk. You have not only made it possible for me to study, but you have also given me plenty of space to do it my way. It took a while, but I think I am done now. Thank you for always believing in me.

ABSTRACT

This research studies the effects of the European crisis in terms of new trends in North-South migration: crisis-induced Spaniards migrating to Tangier to enter the Moroccan labour market. The main objective of this exploratory research is to contribute to a qualitative understanding of the causes, means and effects of Spanish labour migration into Morocco through portraying the migrants' personal development in their transnational worlds. More specifically, this research aims to present the migration aspirations of the crisis-induced migrants, the economic, political, and socio-cultural practices in the migrants lifeworlds and the extent to which their practices and identifications are involved in transnational activism. Crisis-induced migrants in this perspective are considered to be Spaniards migrating to Morocco to escape the crisis in Spain and to enter the local labour market in Tangier. The central question that guided me through this research reads: *"What are the aspirations of Spanish crisis-induced migrants to migrate to Morocco and to what extent do they create a transnational lifeworld?"*

This new form of crisis-induced migration involves people from all age classes and different backgrounds that have no opportunities on the Spanish labour market. The Spanish migrants vary from middle to higher educated with some of them gratefully accepting the lower-paid jobs in Morocco. These migrants find employment in the construction sector, in logistics, in telecommunication, in education, in the catering, and in tourism and entertainment. The crisis in Spain and the differences in economy, political life and society between Morocco and Spain shape the migration trajectory of the crisis-induced migrant and create a transnational lifeworld in which migrants construct and maintain simultaneous multilateral social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Levitt, 2007).

It is important to acknowledge migration as a socially embedded event in which the migrants' multiple motivations must be recognised. Therefore, I utilized the biographical approach in which a specific migration exists as a part of the migrants past, present and future, thus as part of their biography (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). Despite the diverse pallet of migrants including differences in age, family situation, educational and occupational backgrounds, it is possible to categorize the migrants based on their multiple motivations, by utilizing an adjusted design of Bell's typology (1968) in which the twenty respondents of this study are divided in *'the careerist'*, *'the careerist – community seeker'*, *'the careerist – consumerist'*, *'the community seeker – consumerist'* and *'the family type'*. Although the migrants motivations differ strongly from migrating with a focus on the prosperity of their career, migration through identification with another country and its culture, because of the desire to enjoy the experience abroad, exclusively out of family considerations, or a combination between this, through all respondents' biographies, the crisis is an incentive for the actual move. Either from primary importance or for secondary reasoning, the economic and political situation in Spain is interwoven in every migration motivation and serves like the leitmotiv through the migrant's life stories, which justifies the term 'crisis-induced' migration. However, this motive does not explain individual behaviour because if such factors affect

everyone, why do only some move? Further explanation is needed and achieved through utilizing the five typologies mentioned before.

Within the careerist type of migrant it becomes clear that the primary motivation of migration is the development of the career, either financially, by international experience, or a higher occupation. Almost half of the respondents in this study (nine out of twenty) can be considered as careerists. For the careerists, the decision to migrate is based on the lack of opportunities Spain can offer within their career. Migration serves as an opportunity to gain international experience to establish a stronger position on the labour market and to have more security and stability within their career. As for the careerist – community seeker type of migrants (five out of twenty) there is a strive to develop their career but also the interest to live in another culture. The careerist – community seeker is reflecting the need for economic opportunities outside Spain as the crisis affected the sector in which they operate in such a way they could not wait for progress. Moreover, these migrants are seeking new experiences, new cultures and new opportunities abroad to explore the world outside Spain and the interest in the country of destination serves as an extra motivation for migration to Morocco. The careerist – consumerist type of migrant (two out of twenty) seeks to develop his or her career to the desired level as Spain lacked the opportunity to do so, and to enrich the joy of life with the experience abroad. The community seeker – consumerist type of migrant (two out of twenty) can be described as someone who on one hand decides to migrate to Morocco because of the interest to live in another culture and on the other hand is seeking for an experience abroad to enrich his own joy in life. In the cases of both community seekers – consumerists the lower living expenses in Morocco served as an extra incentive for migration. For the family type of migrant (two out of twenty) the highest priority is family gains rather than personal gains, and migration occurs through family reunion. In the family seeking type of migrant the motivation for migration is clearly illustrated that the household situation is the main priority and migration took place out of considerations for family reunion. However, in these motivations the crisis is again interwoven in the migration-decision making process, as part of their family, namely their spouses, migrated through the lack of opportunities in their careers in Spain.

Structural factors such as the economic and political situation in Spain in this time of crisis cannot be disentangled from personal motivations as in every situation these influences are intertwined within decision-making. Migration flows can only be interpreted by the interplay of choices and decisions of individual migrants which are nested in the amalgamation of structural and personal factors. It is therefore necessary to emphasize the ways in which individual actors, structural factors, organisations and societies fit together, in which structure and agency are considered to be complementary forces. Although the crisis-induced migrants have a reflexive ability to justify their thoughts and actions, which are determined by economic, political, socio-cultural and historical conditions, its' structure is different with each individual, due to the various perspectives on the standard of life, personal enrichment, ideologies and a purpose in life. Socio-demographic factors such as education, gender, age and family status influence this, but also

other factors outside the family circle play a significant role in the development of personal feeling and decision-making (Ortner, 2005).

As to the transnational character of the migrants' practices, it can be said that these practices constitute a substantial part of the lives of the Spanish crisis-induced migrants in Morocco whereas this modern 'transmigrant' is at home in several social worlds, is involved in cross-border social networks, and occasionally makes a living by means of transnational economic practices. However, on the other hand, this crisis-induced migrant left his or her country partly through difficulties with Spain's economic and political situation. These obstructions are clearly reflected in the level of their transnational practices, as this migrant is overall seen less active in economic and political practices in the country of origin as compared to socio-cultural practices. However, although not very actively practicing within economic and political spheres in the country of origin, the majority finds it important to keep-up-to-date with the economy and politics, despite the lack of confidence in Spain. This can be partly explained through the desire among the majority of the respondents to return home when the situation in Spain stabilizes.

As to the migrants' identification with co-ethnics, it can be said that these are much more severe than with the local community within their host country. Migrants primarily identify with their own ethnic group, living either in Morocco or Spain, mainly because of the dissimilarities in life style between the Spanish and Moroccan community. It seems that the higher the level of the respondents involvement in transnational practices (in particular transnational political practices and socio-cultural practices in the country of origin) the stronger their transnational identifications.

The concern voiced by several authors (Snel et al., 2006) that the migrants' transnational involvement hinders integration into the host society is not completely unjustified within the group of respondents. In general, groups that are (perceived to be) culturally different from the mainstream host society appear to have more difficulties combining transnational involvement with integration (Snel et al., 2006). This is especially the case for the respondents that do not belong to the community seeking type of migrant (the latter in general feels more connected with the local community). It seems that the respondents that have stronger identifications with the country of origin are less integrated into the host society. This is especially reflected in the Spanish network in which they find themselves. Furthermore, the lack of citizenship and desire to speak their own language, are also signs of weak integration, something that is present amongst the majority of the crisis-induced Spanish migrant living in Morocco. However, although the majority of the migrants emphasize the discrepancy in the life style of Morocco as compared to Spain, and maintain a desire of return, both reasons for their transnational activity and disintegration into the host society, in general the Spanish respondents consider Morocco as a country of opportunities whereas their country of origin is lacking these.

INDEX

1. INTRODUCTION	8
1.1 INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH TOPIC	8
2. REGIONAL THEMATIC FRAMEWORK	13
2.1 SPANISH-MOROCCAN RELATIONSHIPS	13
2.2 COUNTRY OF ORIGIN – SPAIN IN ECONOMIC CRISIS	16
2.2.1 THE IMPACT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS ON MIGRATION FLOWS IN SPAIN	17
2.3 COUNTRY OF DESTINATION – THE TRANSFORMATION OF MOROCCO	20
2.3.1 THE IMPACT OF THE EUROPEAN CRISIS ON MIGRATION FLOWS IN MOROCCO	21
2.3.2 REGION OF DESTINATION – THE TRANSFORMATION OF TANGIER	21
3. THEORETICAL FOUNDATION	25
3.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION THROUGH A TRANSNATIONAL LENS	25
3.2 DIFFERENT THEORIES ON THE CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION	29
3.3 THE MIGRANTS’ DECISION-MAKING	31
3.4 SEEKING MIGRANT TYPOLOGIES	33
3.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	35
4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY	36
4.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	36
4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN	38
4.3 RESEARCH METHODS	39
4.3.1 INTERVIEWING	39
4.3.2 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	40
4.4 THE RESEARCH POPULATION	41
4.5 TRUSTWORTHINESS	41
4.6 OVERCOMING LIMITATIONS AND RISKS OF RESEARCH	42
5. THE MIGRATION MOTIVATION: MIGRANTS’ CHARACTERISTICS AND ASPIRATIONS THROUGH A BIOGRAPHICAL LENS	44
5.1 MIGRANT TYPOLOGY	45
5.2 PROFILING THE MIGRANT	47
5.3 SEEKING THE MIGRANTS’ MULTIPLE MOTIVATIONS THROUGH TYPOLOGIES	51
5.3.1 STRUCTURAL FACTORS OF INFLUENCE IN MIGRATION TO MOROCCO	59
6. THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE: MIGRANTS’ PRACTICES THROUGH A TRANSNATIONAL LENS	69
6.1 ECONOMIC PRACTICES	70
6.1.1 LOOKING BACK: THE MIGRANTS’ ECONOMIC PRACTICES IN RETROSPECT	70
6.1.2 THE ECONOMIC PRACTICES IN MOROCCO	72
6.2 POLITICAL PRACTICES	73
6.2.1 LOOKING BACK: THE POLITICAL PRACTICES AND INVOLVEMENT IN RETROSPECT	74
6.2.2 THE POLITICAL PRACTICES AND INVOLVEMENT IN MOROCCO	75
6.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES	78
6.3.1 LOOKING BACK: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES IN RETROSPECT	78
6.3.2 THE CURRENT SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES IN MOROCCO	79
6.4 TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES	80
6.4.1 TRANSNATIONAL ECONOMIC PRACTICES	81

6.4.2 TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL PRACTICES	85
6.4.3 TRANSNATIONAL SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES	87
6.5 TRANSNATIONAL IDENTIFICATIONS	93
7. TOWARDS CONCLUSIONS	99
8. REFERENCES	103
9. APPENDIXES	111
9.1 APPENDIX 1. BASIC TRENDS IN SPAIN AND MOROCCO	111
9.2 APPENDIX 2. SPANISH MIGRATION TO MOROCCO WITHIN THE MEDIA	112

1. INTRODUCTION

"Always expect the unexpected when it comes to migration. The new European migration to Africa can teach us a lesson: we are not the centre of the world." (De Haas in Trouw, 2013)

As a consequence of the global economic crisis, patterns within migration are shifting, and the notion of a divide between the 'rich north' and the 'poor and developing south' became obsolete. With former destination countries plunging into economic difficulties while others prosper and create job opportunities, migration is shifted to new destination countries (Ghosh, 2010). Through the economic crisis, the economy of Spain is hit hard and the unemployment level among native-born rates at 26 percent. Unemployment among young people is even much higher and is estimated at 52 percent. Moreover, the employment situation of immigrants in Spain has sharply deteriorated in the light of the economic crisis. Among foreign-born the unemployment rate amounts 31.5 percent (OECD, 2012). The depressing employment opportunities abate immigration as migration inflows to Spain continue to decrease but in parallel trigger emigration, as migration outflows continue to increase. Crisis-induced migrants are looking for better opportunities elsewhere, which can be seen in the number of Spanish citizens leaving the country as the flows have multiplied almost by three in the last six years. Moreover, the figure of foreigners leaving Spain has multiplied by six and a half in the last six years (IMI, 2010; Spanish Consulate, 2013; Spanish Embassy, 2013). The largest destinations are still northern and central European countries, as well as Latin American countries. However, also new patterns of migration have arisen. The so much discussed "South-North" migration, is suddenly showing a reversed pattern as crisis-induced people are migrating south since Spain is drifting deeper into crisis. Among these Southern destination countries is the former biggest sending country Morocco, with Spanish migrants entering the Moroccan local labour market, in search of better economic and social opportunities (IMI, 2010). According to the National Institute of Statistics of Spain the number of Spaniards officially registered as residents in Morocco has quadrupled between 2003 and 2011 as Spain's weakened economy prompt its citizens to look south for new opportunities (INE, 2011).

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH TOPIC

"South-North" migration in respect to Moroccan residents migrating to Spain is a well-known phenomenon in this context. However, a new pattern within migration, which is still at the beginning of the process, is crisis-induced "North-South" migration whereas in the case of Spain, particularly young Spanish people and return migrants move to Morocco to enter the labour market. These flows are interesting since they reverse the tendency of Spain receiving Moroccan population. Although there have been migratory movements from Spain to Morocco throughout history, as Spain always had a significant and on-going relationship with Morocco due to its proximity and the commercial interests that developed between the countries, this small group of migrants has increased significantly since the European crisis exacerbated the unemployment rate of Spain.

The economic situation in Morocco improved considerably over the years. This is not only evidenced by the growth in GDP, that contained five percent in 2011 and 2.7 percent in 2012, but also by a new trend in its migration inflows, as immigration tends to go along with economic development (World Bank, 2013). New patterns of migration have arisen, and Morocco, that once only sent migrants abroad, is now also experiencing migrant inflows (UNFPA, 2005). Morocco gradually seems to develop into an immigration country for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa but also for Spaniards that were hit by the economic crisis and its' corresponding high level of unemployment. As mentioned above, due to historical patterns and geographical proximity Morocco has always been connected with Spain, particularly in terms of business relationships. Some of the big Spanish entrepreneurs have opened up and developed businesses in Morocco, and therefore there are existing networks that attract Spanish labour force (De Haas, 2005).

However, Morocco as a destination country may seem like a surprising predilection for a Spaniard seeing the fact that Morocco's GDP-rate still amounts one-sixth of that of Spain and its' unemployment rate is estimated at thirty percent. In an interview by Karis Hustad (2013) with Lahlou, a professor in economics at the National Institute for Statistics in Morocco, Lahlou states that the consideration of Spaniards moving to Morocco to enter the labour market is not that illogical at all. This can be explained through different factors such as the easy accessibility of legal entrance for Spaniards into Morocco and the lower living expenses in Morocco compared to Spain. These advantages allow Spaniards to easily move back and forth between the continents for work opportunities or social purposes (Hustad, 2013). Spain is located only fourteen kilometres from northern Morocco, and the Spanish enclaves Ceuta and Melilla on the Moroccan coast are literally being representative of "*Europe in Africa*" (De Haas, 2005). Although the distance between Spain and Morocco is diminutive, many still consider it to be "a world away", something that can be largely explained through the differences in culture and religion.

This research studies the effects of the European crisis in terms of new trends in North-South migration: crisis-induced Spaniards migrating to Tangier to enter the Moroccan labour market. This study solely focuses on Spanish migrants who are trying to escape the crisis and crossed the Strait of Gibraltar looking for better opportunities in Northern-Morocco. This new form of crisis-induced migration involves people from all age classes and different backgrounds that have no opportunities on the Spanish labour market. The Spanish migrants vary from middle to higher educated with some of them gratefully accepting the lower-paid jobs in Morocco. These migrants find employment in the construction sector, in logistics, in telecommunication, in education, in catering and in tourism and entertainment. Demonstrated by a study of IMI (2010), the highest concentration of crisis-induced migrants from Spain is situated in Tangier, and therefore this study will involve fieldwork in this particular research site.

The crisis in Spain and the differences in economy, political life and society between Morocco and Spain shape the migration trajectory of the crisis-induced migrant and create a transnational lifeworld in which migrants construct and maintain simultaneous multilateral social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Levitt, 2007). However, solely thinking in terms of the economic crisis may entail a risk of significance, namely the reduction of migration decisions purely based on economic decisions, which distorts the complex reality of this migrants' lifeworld. Thus, rather than explaining migration by only focussing on structural constraints, this research recognizes migration as the outcome of multiple reasons of individuals and thereby regarding economic factors not necessarily decisive. Therefore, the main objective of this exploratory research is to contribute to a qualitative understanding of the causes, means and effects of Spanish labour migration into Morocco through portraying the migrants' personal development in their transnational worlds without the restriction to economic reductionism. The approach utilized for this study is the biographical approach, as it acknowledges migration as a socially embedded event wherein the migrants' multiple motivations should be recognised (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993).

The central question that guided me through this research reads: *“What are the aspirations of Spanish crisis-induced migrants to migrate to Morocco and to what extent do they create a transnational lifeworld?”*

As the economic crisis in Spain is triggering “North-South” migration and this can be considered as a relatively new and uncommon pattern in migration flows, it is important to have more information on the influence of the economic crisis in Spain on migration flows to Morocco. Therefore, the first research question reads: *“How does the crisis influence migration from Spain to Morocco?”* Furthermore we need to know whom these migrants are, and what their aspirations are to migrate to Morocco to enter the local labour market in Tangier. Hence, the second research question is: *“What are the characteristics and aspirations of crisis-induced migrants in their migration from Spain to Morocco?”* and will be addressed through profiling the respondents and giving insight in their multiple motivations for migration. As the practices of these migrants within the social-cultural, political and economic life in Tangier are shaping their lifeworld, it is essential to get more insight into these practices and explore what the degree of transnational involvement is through portraying the transnational ‘lived experiences’ of the crisis-induced Spanish migrants. Consequently, the third research question reads: *“In what kind of economic, political and socio-cultural practices are these migrants involved and to what extent are these practices transnational?”* The last research question will examine the constitution of migrant identifications and the influence of these identifications in the creation of transnational lifeworlds, and will therefore read: *“What kind of identifications are shaped through the crisis-induced migration and how do these identifications influence the creation of migrant transnational lifeworlds?”*

The scientific relevance of this study is to gain more insight into new migration patterns: “North-South” migration and the effects of the European crisis on migration flows. The majority of research on migration patterns done by scholars has focused predominantly on “South-North” migration, and up until now, “North-South” migration patterns have received little attention within academia. This study attempts to fill these gaps in knowledge by studying the Spanish migration to Morocco. Moreover, there is little known about the effects of the European crisis on migration flows outside of Europe. A broader understanding of the spatial forms of migration is a necessary precondition to understand the dynamics of migration in times of crisis.

As regards to the transnational debate, this study aims to provide a rethink on the ‘classical’ factors of migration, regarded to as the static model of push and pull, which fails to address the patterns of mobility and the decisions for integration into the host society. This research will consider the movement of migrants as multi-local whereas the flow of movement is not one-way, and there are many forms of ongoing exchange (Papastergiadis, 2000). The postulation that individuals will live their lives in one single location, according to one single range of national and cultural norms, in countries with impervious national borders, no longer holds in the 21st century. Instead, more and more people will belong to two or more societies simultaneously (Levitt, 2007). Therefore, this research will take the transnational perspectives of migrants into account to study what kind of transnational lifeworld is being created through crisis-induced “North-South” migrants from Spain to Morocco. In specific, this study attempts to acquire a better understanding on the specific types of crisis-induced migrant flows out of Spain into neighbouring Morocco and their aspirations to migrate. Moreover, it is aimed to get more insight into the transnational character of the migrants’ practices and identifications, as these migrants use different locations to create the optimal conditions for their own prosperity and family security. Besides, the majority of migration research has a primarily focus on the investigation of the experiences of the migrants in the host country, thus overlooking the pre-immigration experience, which might also wield a substantial influence upon the migration experiences of the migrants (Bürgelt, 2004). Therefore, this study contemplates the whole migration experience by investigating the migrant stories of Spanish migrants, both retrospectively and currently, with distinct backgrounds and migration experiences.

To understand this relatively new pattern of ‘North-South’ migration, it is important to have background information on the influence of the economic crisis in Spain on migration flows to Morocco. The regional thematic framework in chapter two will explain the transformation in both Spain as well as Morocco, and the impact of this transformation on migration patterns. The theoretical framework in chapter three will represent a collection of interrelated concepts and theories, including transnationalism, international migration theories, and typologies of migrants’ in relation to their multiple motivations. Subsequently, chapter four will present the research questions and concerns the methods that are being utilized aiming to

explore relevant issues that are related to the so-called crisis-induced North-South migration from Spain into Morocco. To study whom these migrants are, and what their aspirations are to migrate to Morocco, chapter five will give insight into the characteristics, different types of migrants, and their multiple motivations, utilizing the biographical approach. Chapter six will discuss the economic, political and socio-cultural activities of the migrants and the extent of transnational involvement within these three spheres reflected in transnational practices and identifications. Furthermore, as these migrants' practices and identifications have influence on the creation of their transnational lifeworlds, and also have implications for the integration into the host society, this chapter will examine how various migration patterns of transnationalism relate to the integration into the host society. Chapter seven aims to answer the central question of this research with an in-depth conclusion. The consulted literature and the interviews processed for this study can be found in chapter eight. The appendices of this study, found in chapter nine, contain the basic trends in Spain and Morocco in appendix one and the Spanish migration to Morocco within the media in appendix two. Furthermore, as an addition to this research, I have created a migrant book for the compilation of the migrant narratives, and to share the personal history of all my respondents, which emphasizes the approach within this research in which the migrant has a central voice in the story of migration.

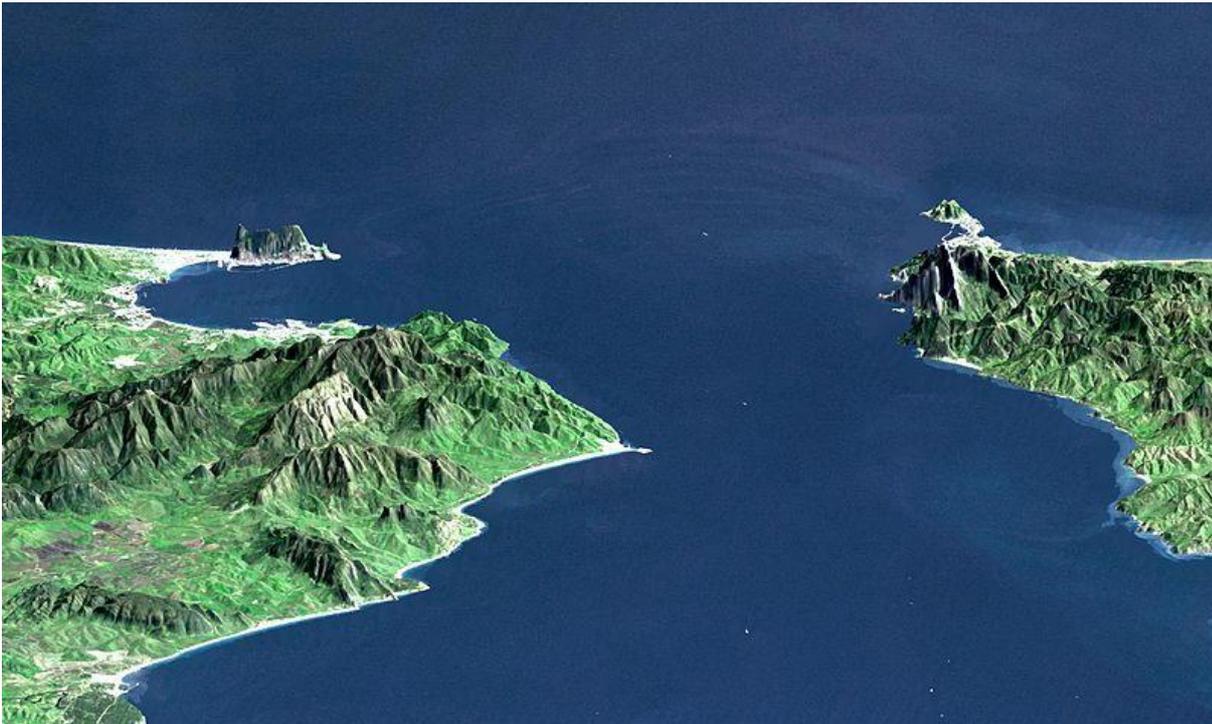
2. THE REGIONAL THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

As history and geographical proximity determine the intensity of relations between Spain and Morocco and furthermore plays a major role in the new migration patterns between the two countries, this chapter will start to give insight into the Spanish-Moroccan relationships from the 14th century until today. It will continue with a review on the existence of the crisis in Spain and its impact on the new migration patterns from Spain into Morocco. Thirdly, it will explain the transformation of the country of destination, namely Morocco, and explains what kind of impact this transformation has on its migration patterns. And lastly, more specific, it will give insight into the region of destination, namely Tangier, thereby highlighting the transformation of the city as Morocco's major destination for Spanish crisis-induced migrants.

2.1 SPANISH-MOROCCAN RELATIONSHIPS

The former King Hassan II, depicted in somewhat poetical but striking words what the situation of Morocco is: *“ Morocco is like a tree whose roots are in Africa but whose leaves are moved by the wind of Europe”* (Antonio Azbitarte, interview on 18 May, 2013). The whole country came increasingly under French influence and in 1912 Morocco was effectively partitioned between France and Spain, with Spain largely occupying the north. The city of Tangier has a unique historical relationship with Spain. The history and geography determine the intensity of relations between countries that look face to face in the Strait of Gibraltar (see fig. 1.1 below). Equivalent to the relationship between France and England; relations between Spain and Morocco are marked by hatred, friendship and sullen contempt. In ancient times, the northern and southern shores of the Straits lived simultaneously by the arrival of the Phoenicians, the imposition of Roman order and the ephemeral indwelling of the Vandals, who gave the modern Andalusia the name 'Beatica'. The Arabs reached the Maghreb in the seventh century commencing the millennial history of the co-existence between culture and people on both sides. The Muslim presence in modern Spain shapes the representations and political and religious personality. Similarly, the imaginary Andalusia looms large in the culture and the imagination of the Moroccans. People from the western Maghreb idealize, rightly or wrongly, the medieval Andalusia as a unique cultural melting pot, drenched in the Arab culture (Vermeren, 2002).

Fig. 1.1 Strait of Gibraltar with Spain on the left and Morocco on the right



Source: Shuttle Radar Topography Mission, Space Shuttle Endeavour, NASA, 2003

Since 1415, the Portuguese were present in Ceuta, a city on the southern shore of the Strait, which became Spanish in 1580. In 1496, Spain seizes Melilla. Portugal possessed a series of strongholds, or colonial enclaves, along the Atlantic coast, all the way down to Senegal. In the sixteenth century, the dynasty of the Saadi expels most of the Portuguese garrisons. Equilibrium was established between the Straits, and the Spaniards kept one foot in the Maghreb, although its expansion was blocked. The arrival of the Moors and Sephardic Jews significantly transformed the appearance of the cities of North Africa. The Moorish Andalusian converted across the Straits, were installed in the cities of the Maghreb, and Jewish districts were located around the royal palaces in sign of protection. The Andalusian boast introduced its way of life in Morocco, in particular in culture with a courtesy that, even today, shapes the bourgeoisie of this country. The rupture in the region of the English and French powers from the eighteenth century, accompanies the historical decline of the Spanish Empire of Charles V. When installed in Gibraltar in 1715, the British permanently disrupted the Spanish-Moroccan territory. The violent arrival of the French in Spain during the Napoleonic wars and subsequent conquest (just as violent) of Algeria from 1830 was a new stage in this process (Vermeren, 2002; Driouch, interview on 23 April, 2013).

Thereafter, taking advantage of the weakening of the Sherifian empire after the bombing of Tangier and Mogador by the French in 1844, the Spaniards installed bridgeheads on the south coast of Morocco. However, they could not go much further because the competition to colonize Morocco was keen. Spain, France, Germany, England, and Italy neutralized their forces for decades. France needed more than thirty

years to consolidate its implantation in Morocco in 1912 and ruled their rivals. Spain won the kingdom of the Sherifian margins, southern Sahara and the northern Rif, and the city of Tangier was internationalized. For the first time since 1492, the northern and southern provinces closely lived under the same political authority. The colonial period lasted for 44 years, thereby being a brief but crucial period in relations between the two nations. Spain occupies the Rif and Tetouan made a beautiful capital of the African colony (Ceballos, 2009). However, the resistance movements of Rif Berber tribes in this very mountainous territory caused terrible torment. In 1921, the Rif tribes killed thousands of Spanish soldiers and took the chance to take over the colony. After the pacification of the territory, a new page of the Spanish-Moroccan relations was once again written with blood. At the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, the African colonial army, composed of regular Riffs was a powerful tool in the hands of General Franco as one hundred thousand Moroccans were fighting in Franco's army. The episode became a new black page in the relations between the two countries. Up until today, the Moroccans are not proud of having helped to install one of the more long-lived dictatorships in Europe (1939 - 1975). However, the military complicity between Spaniards and Moroccans (at least the Rif) did not stop here. Franco's Spain was adapted yet to the postcolonial period and left the Rif shortly after signing the treaty of independence with France on the southern area, in March 1956. Two years later, the Franco army in the Sahara collaborated with the French army to end the activities. This assured a break of nearly fifteen years in the Western Sahara.

The year 1975 marked a milestone in the history of both countries. For Morocco it meant entry into the era of consensus and the beginning of a real foundation of the reign of Hassan II who focused on the recovery of the Western Sahara. For Spain, however, it represented the beginning of the final installation of democracy and its entry in rapid economic and social modernization. In the early seventies the two countries were connected with being a mid-sized power in the western Mediterranean, with a low level of development. The Moroccan studying or working in France had the feeling of a similarity in development between the neighbouring country Spain and their own country. With the relative wealth of Casablanca and Tangier and the rich agricultural regions of northern Morocco, Andalusia could be passed as a backward region. Put differently, the poverty in the south of Spain induced the Moroccans to think their country seemed best equipped in the race for development. Twenty-five years later, this generation of Moroccans privately confessed their humiliation against the insolent view on the development of Spain. The Costa del Sol had become a new Riviera, facing the trafficking of hashish in the Rif and the prolonged absence of investments on the other side of the Strait. For many years, from all over the Mediterranean, people flocked to bask in the luxury hotels of Marbella which, seen from Morocco, seemed like a touristic 'Eldorado'. The rich Moroccan spent their summer vacations here. As for the Andalusians, they no longer needed to emigrate and moreover, Spain opened their doors for immigration from the Rif and migrants from Morocco came to work (Driouch, interview on 23 April, 2013; Vermeren, 2002).

The relations between the two neighbours, who today belong to two areas with very different cultural, political and economic factors, continue to be very dense. The ferries sail from one side to the other in the waters of the Mediterranean, the Straits and the Ocean. These same waters were the cause of a rough dispute (2000-2001) on fishing. The Strait, annually transiting more than 100.000 trucks in both directions, including Moroccan tomatoes and citrus, but also tourists, migrant workers, students and clandestine are transported to Europe. And of course, each year some several hundreds of tons of hashish are crossing the Strait. With the Schengen Agreement, Spain became the sentinel south-western flank of the European Union. Its southern border is the subject of multiple traffics, and since 2002 more than 100,000 illegal attempted to make the crossing. This situation exacerbated the authorities of Spain, former land of emigration, which was suddenly doomed to south migration pressure. The fisheries crisis (Morocco-EU renewed the agreement to fish in its waters), recurrent agricultural conflict, the hashish, the distribution of territorial waters between the Canary Islands and the Sahara, prospecting oil in the same waters, Spanish ambiguity in relation to the Western Sahara, the migration to Spain by millions of Moroccans, and the transformation of Ceuta and Melilla in forts surrounded by barbed wire are the various facets of the current conflicting relations between the two countries. In 1997-98 Morocco undertook a transition in policy, whose effects can still be noticed, at a time when the Spanish democracy has allowed the return of the right to power. Both countries could be understood on the basis of their common history but the current differences between the levels of development and demographic, political and historical grudges are encouraging the timid folds. Therefore, at the beginning of this century, remarkable shifting alliances find place in the western Mediterranean. France tries to preserve its influence in the Maghreb, while Spain is impending. France and Algeria, both strongly influential in history, have lost the habit of talking, like the two hostile brothers of the Strait (Vermeren, 2002; Garcia, 2012). As Vermeren (2002) puts it, too much history is difficult to digest.

2.2 THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN – SPAIN IN ECONOMIC CRISIS

In 2006, after a long period of economic expansion that started in the mid-nineties, Spain's economy began to show the first signs of depletion (Carballo-Cruz, 2011). One year later in 2007, the situation started to change, the financial crisis burst the real estate bubble and hauled the country into recession. This resulted in the bankruptcy of numerous companies and collapsed banking systems. *"Kilometres of unfinished buildings along the country's coastline reveal the extent to which Spain had been living off-credit, and wrongly speculated that the only way was up."* (Bosen, 2013, p. 1) The impact of the international economic crisis that deepened in 2008, and caused an economic recession in 2009, induced a fierce fall in output and a tremendous rise in unemployment (Carballo-Cruz, 2011).

But what are the reasons that Spain is among the hardest hit countries within Europe? First of all, the banking sector commenced to face problems of liquidity, and significantly reduced credit. Subsequently, the credit pinches started to suffocate companies, whereby many of them were unable to pay creditors or meet their financial obligations, and were forced to close down. Others were enforced to diminish their output, as the demand failed. A rapid rise in the unemployment rate soon set in and in turn this further reduced the demand. Declining expenditure and consumption resulted in increasing difficulties for enterprises, which saw their sales and benefits fall. In the second quarter of 2008 investment started to descend, and in the third quarter aggregate consumption was severely reduced, something that had not happened in Spain for almost thirteen years, and added to the diminution of the economy. In 2009 the crisis had become global. Its most distinctive characteristic in Spain is the rate of unemployment that is much higher than in the rest of Europe, one that can be explained more by the particularity of the Spanish labour market than by the reducing level of GDP-growth. In such a labour-intensive country as Spain, a severe lag of economic growth is bound to translate into a sharp reduction of the demand for labour and a quick rise in the unemployment level. The first and hardest hit segment by the recession, has been the construction sector that had an outstanding weight, both in terms of economic growth and of employment before the crisis appeared (Arango and Quiñones, 2009). In general, job losses were particularly severe in the male-dominated industries of construction, finance and manufacturing (Ghosh, 2010).

In 2009, the most difficult phase of the recession in terms of product breakdown and job destruction occurred, with a decrease of 6.3 percent in GDP and an increase of unemployment of 800.000 people. The high level of unemployment in Spain can be considered as one of the biggest problems of the economic crisis, and comes with critical data. At the end of 2007 the unemployment level rose from 8.3 percent to 20.1 percent in late 2010, whereas in the Euro-zone the increase was 'merely' 2.6 percent, from 7.5 percent to 10.1 percent. The years of higher job destruction were 2008, with a growth of 41 percent, and in particular 2009, with a growth of 60.2 percent, in which the unemployment rate increased to 19.5 percent of the total workforce. (Carballo-Cruz, 2011). This unemployed population mainly comprises the housing sector (17.34 percent), the industry sector (11.89 percent), the service industry (3.25 percent) and the agricultural industry (2.64 percent) (Zabalegui, 2010). The economy of Spain is expected to shrink by 1.7 percent this year, according to the International Monetary Fund. The current unemployment rate of 26 percent – the European Union's highest – is expected to continue rising (BBC, 2012).

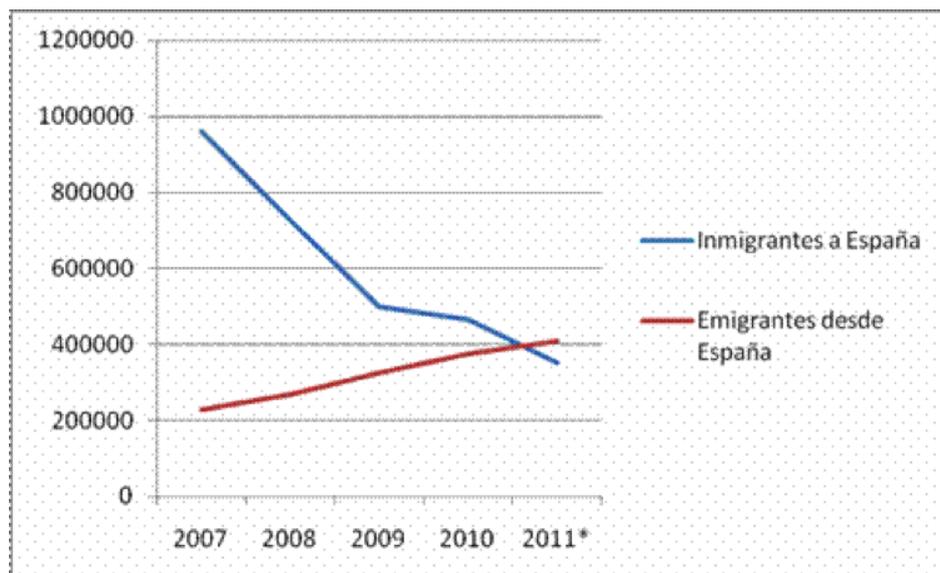
2.2.1 THE IMPACT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS ON MIGRATION FLOWS IN SPAIN

As Spain steadily caught up with more affluent and modern European countries, it developed from a country of emigrants into one of immigrants, whose numbers increased from less than two percent of the population to about twelve percent in two decades. That trend is now being reversed, after the global crisis and the simultaneous meltdown of Spain's important property sector hit the economy hard. Through the

impact of the European economic crisis and its corresponding rising level of unemployment, immigration flows in Spain have slowed down (see fig. 1.2) and restrictive measures to reduce labour-migration were established (OECD, 2012). Spain sharply decreased its annual regional ceilings for non-seasonal labour migrants with 15,700 migrants in 2008 to less than 200 for 2010. Under the general regime, the country's intake of labour migrants decreased from 16,000 in 2009, to less than 2,000 entries in the first quarter of 2010. Because the crisis conducted fewer opportunities in other sectors, more Spaniards and resident foreigners went back to agriculture. This resulted in a sharp drop of new inflows within the seasonal worker program, from 65,000 in 2007 to only 3,600 in 2009 (Ghosh, 2010). Moreover, the increased levels of unemployment and the public discourse "scapegoating" migrants, has led to the adoption of return migration policies, in an attempt to making the migrant return to Morocco (Bilgili and Weyel, 2009). For example, Spain proposed a compensation on air travel expenditure for unemployed non-EU immigrants entitled for unemployment benefits. Furthermore, the government offered to pay the accumulated unemployment benefits in two lump sums: 40 percent of the amount in Spain and 60 percent of the amount on returning home with the condition that the immigrants would give in their residence permits and work visas and stay away from Spain for three years, after which they would have precedence to re-enter the country. However, experience indicates that the impact of such incentives on return may not be very hopeful as it is often marginal and, in some cases, even opposing. In the case of Spain, the Spanish programme had failed to draw out sizable response because by January 2010, only 10,000 unemployed immigrants had applied and returned home, in comparison with somewhat 137,000 people who were eligible (Ghosh, 2010).

Concerning emigration, flows have significantly increased as Spain is among the European countries that have suffered most from the global financial crisis. In an attempt to escape unemployment, numerous Spaniards are leaving the country. According to the Labour Force Survey, at the end of 2010, the total number of unemployed in Spain was 4.7 million, of which one million were foreigners (see fig. 1.2). Among foreign-born the unemployment rate amounts 31.5 percent (OECD, 2012). Table 1.1 indicates that the total flow data for Spanish citizens and foreigners to all destinations. As can be seen, the total emigration rates for both Spaniards and foreigners have increased significantly, taking the base line of 2005 (pre-crisis) up to the most recent data in 2011. The number of Spanish citizens leaving the country has multiplied by almost three in the last six years from 19.290 to 52.841. For foreigners, the figure has multiplied by 6.5 in six years, rising from 48.721 to 317.699. The largest destinations are still northern and central European countries, as well as Latin American countries (IMI, 2010).

Fig. 1.2 Evolution of the immigration to Spain and emigration from Spain



Source: INE, 2011

Table 1.1 Spain, 2005-2011. Total out-migration for Spanish Citizens and Foreigners

Year	Total outflow Spanish citizens	Total outflow foreigners
2005	19.290	48.721
2006	22.042	120.254
2007	29.091	198.974
2008	34.453	232.007
2009	35.372	288.269
2010	37.278	336.676
2011	52.841	317.699

Source: IMI, 2010

Tarvainen (2012) states that the National Statistics Institute of Spain (INE) predicted a decrease of Spain's population from 46.1 to 45.5 million in a decade, through the return of Latin American, Moroccan, and other immigrants to their countries of origin, as well as the departure of many native Spaniards, along with a relatively low birth rate.

Concerning the data of Spaniards towards Morocco, the absolute figures are relatively low in relation to the total outflows, as can be seen in table 1.2 below. Among these outflows are Spaniards migrants, but also returnees with the Spanish nationality, that once migrated to Spain and returned to Morocco now, both in search of better economic and social opportunities. Even though this source tends to under-represent the Spaniards leaving the country, as many migrants do not register with Spanish consulates in the countries where they settle, the tendency is increasing significantly from 6.142 in 2005 (pre-crisis) to 8.744 in 2012.

Table 1.2 Spain, 2005-2012. Total out-migration to Morocco for Spanish Citizens (officially registered)

Year	Total outflow Spanish citizens
2005	6.142
2010	7.561
2012	8.744

Source: Spanish Embassy in Rabat, 2013

2.3 THE COUNTRY OF DESTINATION – THE TRANSFORMATION OF MOROCCO

Morocco is a country of 30 million inhabitants, located in northern Africa, whose population is increasing with 1.9 percent or 570,000 people per year. The number of Moroccans abroad is in between one and a half to two million, for the most part located in France and Spain, but also in Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and elsewhere in Europe (Arango and Martin, 2009). *“Morocco has capitalized on its proximity to Europe and relatively low labour costs to build a diverse, open, and market-oriented economy.”* (CIA, 2012, p. 7) Since the early 1980s, the Moroccan government has been pursuing an economic reform program, which was initiated by the IMF and the World Bank. This program restrained costs, revised the tax and the banking system, and liberalized the foreign exchange regime, and within a decade these reforms, together with the presiding of King Mohammed VI, brought macroeconomic stability to the country. Per capita income increased, lower inflation rates were observed, and the government debt declined. More specifically, within a few decades the gross national income per person five folded, increasing from €400 in the 1970s to €2000 in 2007. Moreover, in 2008, Morocco was capable of recovering from a severe drought in 2007, and its GDP growth even increased with 5.9 percent (World Bank, 2009).

Industrial development strategies and infrastructure improvements – most visibly illustrated by a new port and free trade zone near Tangier – are improving Morocco’s competitiveness. Key sectors of the economy include agriculture, tourism, phosphates, textiles, apparel, and subcomponents. In 2006, Morocco entered into a bilateral Free Trade Agreement with the United States to boost exports and still remains the only African country to have one. In 2008, Morocco entered into an Advanced Status agreement with the European Union (CIA, 2012). Despite the incertitude and instability caused through the Arab Spring, Morocco demonstrated resilient growth in 2011 and 2012 (see appendix 9.1), a tendency that is expected to continue in 2013. The authorities addressed the social demands of the Arab Spring movement with a set of measures, of which the most notable was the development and adoption of a new constitution granting the prime minister greater power and reinforcing the civil rights (African Economic Outlook, 2012).

The development model that Morocco adopted in these past ten years, mark openness, economic liberalization and the implementation of structural reforms. This allowed the economy in 2011 to resist in a complicated national and international environment. In spite of interior tensions and the declined

economic situation in Europe, which is Morocco's major economic partner, the country's GDP growth rate amounted 4.6 percent in 2011 compared to 3.7 in 2010 (African Economic Outlook, 2012). Moreover, the unemployment rate shows a moderate although significant decrease amounting 8.9 percent in 2011 compared to 9.1 percent in 2010 (CIA, 2012).

2.3.1 THE IMPACT OF THE EUROPEAN CRISIS ON MIGRATION FLOWS IN MOROCCO

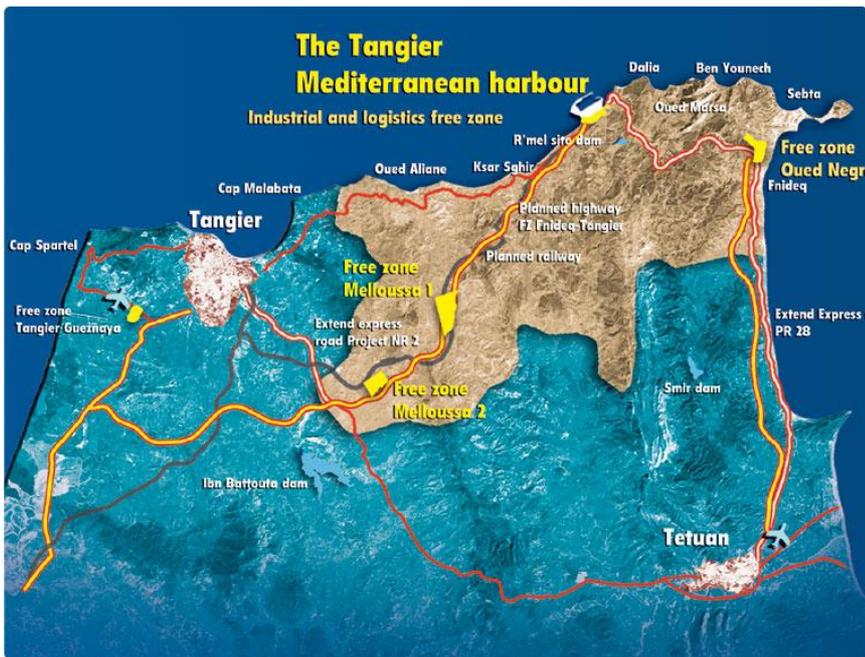
While Moroccan migration has changed in character throughout recent years, there are also new developments in migration to and through Morocco. Since the mid-1990s Morocco has become a transit and destination country for Sub-Saharan migrants, often with the intention to continue their journey to Europe. An increasing number of these migrants stayed in Morocco, either to study or to work (De Haas, 2009).

The crisis, supervening from 2008, changed the prevalent migration patterns between Spain and Morocco dramatically. While Moroccan themselves changed their former dream careers in Europe for dream careers in Dubai, Saudi Arabia or elsewhere in the Arabic Emirates, and Moroccan emigration to Spain is decreasing, the return-migration from Spain back to their country of origin is increasing (Thorne, 2012). The crisis is precisely the same factor that contributes to a rise in the immigration of Spaniards towards Morocco. In the light of the European crisis, the number of Spaniards migrating to Morocco increased significantly as seen in table 1.2.

2.3.2 REGION OF DESTINATION – THE TRANSFORMATION OF TANGIER

Tangier is a city in northern Morocco with a population of about 800.000 inhabitants, according to 2012 estimates (Populations Du Monde, 2012). It lies on the North African coast at the western entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar where the Mediterranean meets the Atlantic Ocean. Tangier is the capital of the Tangier-Tetouan Region and has the third biggest economy of the Moroccan cities. The city has a large port that serves as an international trading route between Northern Africa and Europe, the Tangier-Mediterranean port (Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 2011). With its location at the crossroads of two continents and seas, it is the busiest port of Morocco and a vital passage for truck- and passenger traffic between Europe and Africa (Driessen, 2008). This strategic hub of connections has important economic effects in providing jobs, and foreign investment. Its particular position in the Strait of Gibraltar, at the crossing of two major maritime routes, and just fourteen kilometres from the European Union, allows it to serve a large market of consumers through the industrial and commercial free zones (see fig. 1.3). The main industries of the city concentrate on construction, fishing, and the textile sector, and also tourism is an important source of income within Tangier (Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 2011).

Figure 1.3 The Tangier Mediterranean Harbour and its free trading zone



Source: Skyscrapercity, 2006

Tangier has had the status of an international city since the end of the 18th century, when it was appointed as Morocco's capital of diplomacy by the sultan, and this international status lasted for almost thirty years (Garcia, 2012). In the 19th century the European pressure on Morocco to open its border for maritime trade increased. The imperialist pressure eventually resulted in the establishment of the Spanish and French protectorate in 1912. The strategic position of Tangier was ratified in 1924, when it was declared as an International Zone with its own laws and shared governance on behalf of Morocco, Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium (Driessen, 2008). There didn't exist a colonial regime or a protectorate during these years but there subsisted a system that had very specific characteristics (Ceballos, 2009). After the imposition of the International Zone Tangier became a bustling, cosmopolitan boomtown, where a rampant capitalist regime prevailed. *"The city was a tax paradise, a haven for traders, bankers, speculators, wealthy expatriates, unqualified doctors and lawyers, aristocrats, secret agents, political exiles, adventurers, homosexuals, artists, eccentrics, smugglers and prostitutes"* (Driessen, 2008, p. 61) This remained in force, with the exception of the Spanish occupation of Tangier that lasted five years, from 1940-1945, with some variations of greater or lesser importance. Subsequent to an era of Spanish control until the end of World War II in 1945, Tangier was reunified with the rest of Morocco, regaining complete sovereignty in 1956. Tangier always had a vocation as the bridge between Morocco and Europe, between the Arab and Western culture. The edge of Europe is clearly visible from Tangier, whereas the Strait of Gibraltar separates Tangier just by a few kilometres from Tarifa (Ceballos, 2009). Subsequently, it opened up to the world led by Spain and its people to play a prominent role: demographically, linguistically and culturally (Garcia, 2013). The many cultural and historical monuments

that the Hispanic world has left in Tangier like Plaza del Toro and Teatro Cervantes are a few examples of this (see fig. 1.4 below).

Fig. 1.4 Plaza del Toro and Teatro Cervantes in Tangier



Source: Garcia, 2013; own photography, 2013

From the 80s on, a new phenomenon to Tangier began to rise and a migration process drained local people and directed them towards Spain. Through the years more than 50.000 Tangerines migrated to Spain, especially to Madrid, Catalonia and Andalusia (Garcia, 2012). However, as mentioned before, the crisis forced many of them to return to their land and for precisely the same reason there is a rise in the immigration of Spaniards to Tangier, as shown in table 1.3 below.

Table 1.3 Spanish residents in Tangier, 2005 – 2012

Year	Spanish residents in Tangier
2005	1.424
2006	1.533
2007	1.549
2008	1.612
2009	1.689
2010	1.843
2011	1.892
2012	2.005

Source: General Consulate of Spain in Tangier, 2013 & Spanish Embassy in Rabat, 2013

This new form of crisis-induced migration dominates sectors such as construction, engineering, logistics, and transport. As in particular the construction sector in Spain is the hardest hit, Spanish construction companies are establishing in the expanding city of Tangier. As can be found in table 1.4, the most significant increase of Spanish migration to Morocco can be found for workers temporarily moved to Morocco by their companies for the execution of work contracts or services or the establishment of delegations of the company.

Table 1.4 Spanish citizens temporarily moved to Morocco by their companies under the Agreement on Social Security between Spain and Morocco

Year	Spanish citizens
2005	1.261
2010	1.637
2011	2.507
2012	2.660

Source: Spanish Embassy in Rabat, 2013

Since King Mohammed VI ascended the throne of Morocco in 1999, major plans are created to turn the northern part of the country into a zone for economic development (Driessen, 2008, p. 66). In recent years, the city of Tangier, despite the crisis that affects Morocco too, has become the most active of the country in terms of development (Garcia, 2012). It has become the centre of attraction for investments, with some major manufacturers like Renault settling down in Tangier. Moreover, Tangier has launched many major projects, thereby creating a considerable economic activity. Examples of these projects are Tangier Med (the large industrial port 30 km away from the city of Tangier completed in 2006), a free trading zone, the construction of the TGV (expected to be completed in 2015), the realization of the Marina (the new luxurious sailing harbour within Tangier, expected to be completed in 2015). Satellite towns have helped to boost this economic activity within Tangier (Driessen, 2008; Faoud el Omar, Mayor of Tangier in an interview on 16 April, 2013). All this seems to have reversed the decline of the Spanish colony in Tangier, an increase that is in line with the development and encouragement of trade relations between Spain and Morocco, in which Tangier serves an important role between the two countries (Garcia, 2012).

3. THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

The theoretical foundation of this study on crisis-induced “North-South” migration is fourfold. To begin with there is a discussion on the appropriate theories and methodologies for international migration in which the focus will be on the conceptualization of transnational migration, considered as the most important development within migration studies in recent times. In the context of this research, I will utilize the transnational migration perspective as the theoretical starting point (section 3.1). This study will focus on two dimensions of transnationalism, namely transnational practices and transnational identifications as these two dimensions will give insight into the transnational involvement of migrants. Secondly, in an attempt to link the existing migration theories with the crisis-induced migration from Spain to Morocco, this framework sheds light on three different theories that explain the causes of migration. It is important to emphasize here that the existing theories are generally based on “South-North” migration whereas this study will focus on the opposite pattern. However, in an attempt to understand North-South migration, I will identify the useful elements of conventional theories (section 3.2). Thirdly, as both structure and agency shape human behaviour and thus the decision to migrate, there is a strong need for an open mind, to grasp the whole context. It seems of high importance to utilize humanistic methodologies to look at the individual as a decision maker and to put the voice of the individual central within analysis. There are different concepts and approaches to do this, including the concept of structuration and the biographical approach that will be discussed in section 3.3 of this chapter. In the fourth place, as it is insightful to utilize theoretically sound typologies of migrants in analyzing their motivations and experiences, and identifying subgroups of migrants who are hypothesized to share similar migration motivations, section 3.4 will identify the existing migrant typologies within the literature. Finally, the last section of this chapter will present my conceptual framework, as a conclusion on the theory and an outline of the courses of action within this research (section 3.5).

3.1 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION THROUGH A TRANSNATIONAL LENS

The process of migration has been largely restricted to binary opposites such as ‘traditional versus modern’, ‘country versus city’, or simply by the geographical coordinates of national boundaries (Papastergiadis, 2000). The current structuring of the world economic and political boundaries has led to powerful discussions on the appropriate theoretical framework for the study of international migration (Lazar, 2011). As to international migratory movements the conceptualization of Papastergiadis (2000, p. 47) seems a theoretically sound description: *“a useful way of thinking of borders and flows in the contemporary migration patterns is from a dual perspective, one which focuses on both regional political regulations, while also recognizing the global pressures and motivations for movement”*. More and more facets of social life take place across borders, even when the political and cultural salience of the nations boundaries remain lucid (Levitt, 2007). Hence, in order to recognize the spatial forms of migration, there is

a need for consideration of the dynamics of migration in the present-day structure of the world economy. De Haan (2000, p. 9) describes migration as a social process in which *“migrants are agents of change economically, technologically, but also socially and politically.”* A development of large importance in the conceptualisation of migration is the appearance of migration studies with a transnational approach, as it can serve as a means to deconstruct *“the standard vision of the immigrant as someone who leaves the old country’s security, passes through a period of risk and turmoil, and then establishes a definite equilibrium in the new nation-state”* (Faist, 2000, p. 9). With this, de Haan (2000) and Faist (2000) contest the conventional view of the migrant as a victim and identify migrants as having greater flexibility in their capability to move and their selection of the destination. As to the crisis-induced migrants in this study, the term *crisis-induced* might imply victimization of the migrant through crisis. Surely, the Spanish economic crisis is an important contextual factor that is affecting migrants’ aspirations and such a migrant can thus be considered as a someone hit by the crisis in Spain, thereby lacking opportunities in his or her country of origin. However, this contextual factor is not always restraining the migrant but can also shape aspirations and create new opportunities. Furthermore, this economic dimension does not fully determine people’s choices. In other words, the presence of an economic crisis does not necessarily vanish other motivations to become mobile across borders.

Migration research has undergone a sea of change in the past two decades, and the discovery of the intense interactions that immigrants maintain between their country of origin and their country of residence has led to a growing scholarly interest in the phenomenon of transnationalism. Nowadays, the majority of scholars acknowledge that a lot of contemporary migrants and their predecessors hold a variety of ties to their countries of origin while they become incorporated into the countries where they settle (Levitt, 2007). However, some serious doubts concerning the significance of this particular phenomenon have also been voiced. Some scholars question the novelty of the phenomenon, arguing that there are abundant precursors of transnationalism in the history of migration (Foner, 1997; Smith, 2003). Others argue that findings from the research on immigrant transnationalism conducted by the pioneering group are overstated or tilted, as subsequent research (in the United States) indicated that less than fifteen percent of immigrant family heads actually take part in transnational activities on a regular basis (Portes & De Wind, 2004). However, as Portes (2001) states, one could expect a growth of the phenomenon in the future as the logic of global capitalism has created a permanent demand for immigrant labour and has endowed immigrants with transportation and communication resources entirely beyond the reach of their predecessors (Vancluyesen et al., 2009). As Levitt (2011, p. 10) argues *“migration has never been a one-way process of assimilation into a melting pot or a cultural salad bowl but one in which migrants, to varying degrees, are simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social fields in which they live with many forms of ongoing exchange”*. This forces us to consider migratory movements

from a transnational perspective in which transnational migrants use different locations to create the optimal conditions for their own prosperity and family security.

Another debate addresses the problem of the multiple connotations of what is meant by 'transnationalism' (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Portes, 2001; Vertovec, 2004). In the context of this study, I will utilize the transnational migration perspective as a theoretical starting point, in which migrants are believed to construct multiple relationships that are crossing geographical, cultural and political boundaries. Thus, transnational migration can be defined as *"the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement"* (Glick-Schiller et al., 1994, p. 7). Today, many migrants build social fields that cross geographical-, social and political borders (Glick-Schiller et al., 1994) and are hereby, living interconnected lives.

Due to the broad conceptualization of transnational migration, which can comprise a variety of ties and interactions that link different actors across political borders (Vertovec, 1999), and involve migrants, their communities, social networks, and institutionalized structures such as local and national state policies (Portes et al., 1999), research can be conducted on individual, local, regional, national as well as global levels. As Snel et al. (2006, p. 265) argue, *"the modern transmigrant is at home in several different social worlds, speaks various languages, participates in cross-border social networks and political movements, and sometimes makes a living with transnational economic activities."* According to Itzigsohn & Saucedo (2002, p. 768) *"transnational practices cover all spheres of social action"*. Nevertheless, within the literature, scholars predominantly distinguish between economic, political and socio-cultural practices as these areas cover the main spheres of social action (Portes, 2001; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Snel et al., 2006). Therefore, in this research, the transnational practices of the migrant will be distinguished in these three main dimensions of society. In line with Snel et al. (2006) that delineates on transnational involvement with both practices and identifications of the trans-migrant, this study will focus on two dimensions of transnationalism, namely transnational practices and transnational identifications, as these two dimensions will give insight into the overall transnational involvement of migrants. Transnational practices are considered to be cross-border activities of economic, political or socio-cultural nature. Transnational economic practices include monetary remittances, migrant entrepreneurship or the collective transfer of resources or products to the local community (Guarnizo, 2003). As Portes (2001) states, transnational economic ties are of significant importance for the development of the migrants' countries of origin. For instance, monetary remittances and migrant investments not only play an important role in generating prosperity for the relatives left behind (Koc and Onan, 2004), but they also support the economic development and financial stability of the migrant sending countries (Sorensen, 2004; İçduygu, 2006). However, these flows consider monetary remittances from the so-called 'North' to the so-called 'South'.

What is of interest as regards to this study, is the question if this particular form of remittances also occurs from 'South' to 'North' as this would impeach the annotation of the already somewhat outdated 'North-South' divide. As to transnational political practices, this includes participation in electoral activities, political affiliations or political mobilization in the country of settlement (Al-Ali et al., 2001, p. 621; Guarnizo et al., 2003, p. 1214). Snel et al. (2006) also consider political involvement in the country of origin as a transnational political activity. Transnational socio-cultural practices are "*more affective oriented and less instrumental*" as compared to transnational political or economic practices (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002, p. 768). Examples of this type of transnational activity are visiting and maintaining contact with relatives in the country of origin, joining organizations in the country of residence or the country of origin, and participation in cultural practices (Al-Ali et al., 2001; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Snel et al., 2006; Jayaweera and Choudbury, 2008). For this research, I particularly draw inspiration from the studies of Al-Ali et al. (2001) and Snel et al. (2006), in which the authors make the distinction between transnational practices directed to the country of origin and activities aimed at the country of residence.

The second key concept is transnational identification referring to the extent to which the crisis-induced Spanish migrants living in Morocco identify with compatriots from their country of origin. This concept derives from socio-psychological, sociological and anthropological literature. A fundamental point of departure is that people create their social identities representing the way in which individuals define themselves in relation to their social environment (Bauman, 2004; Jenkins, 1996; Verkuyten, 1999). In this study, I focus on ethnic identifications and give insight into the extent to which the Spanish migrant feels related to the Moroccan ethnic group and orient themselves towards the norms and values of that group. Moreover, I also focus on the extent to which the respondents identify themselves with compatriots from the country of origin, both in Spain as in Morocco.

The transnationalization of migrants' lives has also increasingly challenged the notion that the maintenance of social and economic ties with the country of origin is automatically a demonstration or cause of the migrants' inability or reluctance to integrate (De Haas et al., 2009). A variety of empirical evidence supports the conception that integration and transnational ties are not necessarily substitutes, but actually can be complements. Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999) stressed that transnational practices and identifications are commonly positively connected with the integration of migrants, and can smooth the progress of prosperous adaptation by accommodating opportunities for (transnational) entrepreneurship and economic mobility. According to Portes (2001, p. 188) transnational practices and identifications "*can alter, in various ways, the process of integration to the host society of both first-generation immigrants and their offspring*". Within the literature I found two opposing views on the relation between transnationalism and integration into the receiving country. In line with the statement of Portes (2001), the first view is emphasizing on the reconcilability that transnational involvement goes together with a successful integration. A study of Portes, Haller & Guarnizo (2001) among Colombian, Dominican, and Salvadoran

immigrants in the United States demonstrated that economic transnational practices (transnational entrepreneurship) create economic resources that can empower immigrants to resist exploitation in the labour market and to push themselves and their relatives into the middle class of the native population. The second view accentuates the negative impact of transnational practices and identifications on the integration of immigrants and their offspring as this view considers transnational involvement as an obstruction for integration. For example, Sana (2005) found that the transnational activity of monetary remittances highly correlates with the lack of citizenship, and an inferior language proficiency, which are both signs of weak integration. Also Snel et al. (2006) argue that transnational practices including maintaining ties with the country of origin or with migrant communities, financial investments in the country of origin and double citizenship are frequently perceived as an obstruction for integration. The implicit supposition here is that migrants' transnational involvement and integration are mutually exclusive phenomena.

3.2 DIFFERENT THEORIES ON THE CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The reasons of migration are as abundant and miscellaneous as the types of migration that exist. Temporary migration as a economic strategy differs from the permanent move of a migrant to another country; migration undertaken by an individual is not the same as the movement of a whole family; the characteristics of migration motivated by the migrant's financial deficiency are different from those of a relocation endorsed by the migrants' desire to improve his or her professional qualification or studies; and at last, migration intended to attain a more secure and lucrative job is not the same as migration fuelled by the desire to escape from discrimination and violence (Alonso, 2011).

In an attempt to explain why people, hit by an economic crisis in the country of origin, migrate, three different theories on the causes of migration will be reviewed. The plain economic theory has tended to identify the cause of international migration with differences in labour compensations between countries. Alonso (2011) explains this theory in his paper on international migration and development: *"in a framework of general equilibrium, migration operates like a system of interconnected vessels, which allow balancing of the difference in wages between countries with dissimilar productive factor endowments"* (Alonso, 2011, p. 12). One can therefore expect that in search of greater income, the world's population shift from economies with relatively inexpensive and profuse manpower to locations where manpower is in relative undersized supply, which are the higher-income countries (Alonso, 2011). This hypothesis appears to be confirmed by the fact that nearly eighty percent of the migration population of a developing country selects a more developed country as their destination (UNDP, 2009).

In spite of the persuasiveness of the above theory, it comes up against one dilemma. As Alonso (2011) argues, the mapping of cross-border migratory movements does not respond accurately to the rise of labour rewards. In other words, migration does not necessarily derive from the poorest countries with the

lowest wages, neither are the foremost destinations for migratory flows at all times the richest countries with the highest wages. The mere discrepancy in earnings or in developmental levels between countries does not seem an in-depth explanation for migratory flows. Because if it was, why then would Spanish migrants choose Morocco as a destination, when they could go, for example, to Germany, whose per capita GDP is 36 times higher than that of Morocco? To reinforce this statement, Parsons et al. (2007) in their report *"Quantifying International Migration"* found that when the rate of migration is plotted against the countries' GDP per capita, no significant linear relationship is found between the two variables. To deepen this explanation, I use the argument of Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970), who stress that the important factor is not so much the difference in labour compensation at a certain point in life, but rather the degree of difference in expected income during the life cycle. Put differently, when the migrant makes the decision to move to another country, he or she is not just taking into account the difference between wages in the country of origin and destination at that moment, but will also consider the potential for development that a particular country could offer over the life cycle or the overall period of emigration. Moreover, as Alonso (2011, p. 13) states *"In determining the difference in progress and salaries, other factors are also taken into account, such as the probability of access to a stable job in one country or another, the possibilities for social and professional promotion that each market offers, and the different level of risk associated with future income flows over the migrant's life cycle in each country."* To conclude, it can be said that individuals are searching for places where the benefits are highest possible, and if not at home, individuals decide to migrate.

Another theory is the buffer theory, a speculation based on the idea that migrant workers will return home when the economy of the host country contracts, thereby clearing up jobs for the non-migrant population of the country. According to this theory, in times of economic crisis, we should expect a noticeable upsurge in emigration and a decline in immigration of foreign workers, resulting in falling foreign immigration numbers. The theory thus views the migrants as a buffer. (Dobson et al., 2009). Fargues (2009) argues that a likely consequence of the worlds' financial and economic crisis on Moroccan migration is that the number of employment opportunities offered to migrants will be reduced and could generate a growth in return migration while also reducing new emigration. The growing unemployment in Europe may support the trend of natives taking the jobs that had previously been occupied by migrant workers. He states that this trend has already been observed in Spain in the agriculture and service industries (Fargues, 2009). This theory could explain why returnees are migrating back to Morocco. However, in the case of this study, it is contesting the rise in emigration flows from Spanish citizens. For the buffer theory to work there should be a halt on immigration in times of recession and foreign workers should return home clearing up jobs for natives. Furthermore there is now room for the conversion of temporary migrants into permanent settlers (Dobson et al., 2009). This theory can therefore be considered as too narrow and an unsound basis for predicting net migration patterns, as employment and economic growth are not the only factors influencing in and out-migration.

In response to the neoclassical theories of migration, the theoretical model of the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) has arisen. This theory understands migration as a livelihood strategy employed by households and families to spread income risks and to overcome market constraints in the country of origin. Subsequently, NELM conceptualizes migration as a collective household strategy to prevail over market failures and spread income risks rather than considering migration as a simple response of income-maximizing individuals to expected wage differentials (Stark, 1991; Stark and Bloom, 1985; Taylor, 1999, De Haas, 2011). The fundamental idea of NELM is that households send out best-suited individuals to gain an income elsewhere. The money that migrants remit serves to spread income risks and to increase income and living conditions, and enables them to invest (Stark 1991; Taylor 1999). Thus, international migration can then be perceived as a household response to income risk, as migrant remittances provide income insurance for households of origin. The theory therefore gives room to explain migration in the absence of significant wage differentials and considers migration as an active attempt and an act of agency to overcome structural constraints in the sending countries (De Haas, 2011). However, it does imply that migrants remit to the country of origin.

As mentioned before, above macro-theories mainly involve “South-North” migration, as to date there are no specific theories based on the new pattern of “North-South” migration. Moreover, above-mentioned theories all focus on economic improvements elsewhere as the cause of migration and are therefore inconclusive to explain the move. In this study, it is not so much about migration through economic improvements based on financial prosperity and the actual question here remains: why do individuals migrate from a high-income country to a lower-middle income country? As Zoomers (2006) argues, to have a proper understanding of migration, it is of big importance to pay attention to non-economic dimensions as well. Micro-level theories that emphasise agency in which individuals and households make the decisions, seem useful for this. These theories view migration as a life strategy directly linked to conditions and events in life such as people who migrate to get education or a job, to create or be unified with the family, to find a better place to live and a better future for their children. The decision to migrate thus depends on a person’s beliefs to get a reward (economic or social) and the importance of that reward to the individual or household (Beets and Willekens, 2009).

3.3 THE MIGRANTS’ DECISION-MAKING

A general methodological conclusion from the previous section is that in-depth investigation of the biographies of migrants needs to be undertaken to gain appreciation of the intentions implicated in the migration decision, and to avoid narrow confines of spatial demography. As Halfacree and Boyle (1993) argue with the biographical approach, we must expect to find several reasons for migration, rather than looking for one or two relatively self-contained causes. A future direction that population geography should take is using humanistic methodologies to look at the individual as a decision maker (Findlay, 1992).

Moreover, there is a strong need for an open mind, to grasp the whole context. A useful concept for this is *'structuration'*, which is according to Giddens (1984) a social theory in shaping human behaviour that is based in the analysis of both structure and agency without giving primacy to either. Herein agency is the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices and structure is the recurrent patterned setting which influence the choices and opportunities available (Barker, 2005). Many contemporary social theorists, including Bourdieu (1977) attempt to find a point of balance between the two in which they consider structure and agency as complementary forces: structure influences human behaviour, and humans are capable to modify the social structures they reside in. Although rather bluntly, the main line of this conceptualization seems vital for this study: neither micro- nor macro-focused analysis alone is sufficient to explain the migrants' move from Spain to Morocco.

To thicken the theory of structuration, and to put the migrant central in the analysis, a useful addition is *'subjectivity'*, which is according to Ortner (2005, p. 31) the totality of perception, influence, thoughts, desires, and fears of an individual. In addition, also cultural and social change affects how a person thinks and lives. When we talk about subjectivity, there is at all times a particular cultural and historical consciousness, without excluding the different unconscious dynamics, such as in a Freudian unconscious or a Bourdieusian habitus. Ortner (2005) argues that subjectivity is always more than that, in two senses of the word. At the individual level, she assumes just like Giddens, *"that actors are always at least partially 'knowing subjects', that they have some degree of reflexivity about themselves and their desires, and that they have some 'penetrating power' into the ways in which they are formed by their circumstances."* (Ortner, 2005, p. 41) At the collective level the word *'consciousness'* is utilized in the same way as both Marx and Durkheim do, namely as the collective responsiveness, or several sets of socially inter-related actors, where consciousness in this sense is at all times an ambiguous component of people's personal subjectivities and an element of the public culture. Thus, according to Ortner people have a reflexive ability to validate their thoughts and actions, which is determined by cultural and historical backgrounds, but its' structure can be different with each individual having to do with the standard of life, personal enrichment, ideologies and a purpose in life. Factors such as education, gender, age and family status can influence this, but also other factors outside the family circle play a certain role in the development of personal feeling (Ortner, 2005). Therefore, the motivations and perspectives of migration differ strongly. For that reason, in this research there will be looked upon the migrants' story on a case-by-case level. The utilization of the biographical approach in this study will recognize several, some relatively fully formed, others much more indefinite reasons for migration (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). The structural factors, including the crisis in Spain, and the diverse palette of multiple motivations for migration among the respondents in this study reflect that, as Shotter (1984) explains metaphorically, an intention to migrate can be considered as a *'seed'*, whose development and subsequent shape cannot be predicted accurately from its original form, although remaining rooted in it. From this perspective, the spatial action of migrating from 'a' to 'b' is part

of a response to the 'growth' of an intention. When, where and how the migration occurs is linked to the specific circumstances experienced by the migrant at the time of migration but this context alone is insufficient to explain the actual move (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). Therefore, as the authors above implicitly argue, the influence of both structure as well as agency should be taken into account to elucidate on the decision-making process of the migrant.

3.4 SEEKING MIGRANT TYPOLOGIES

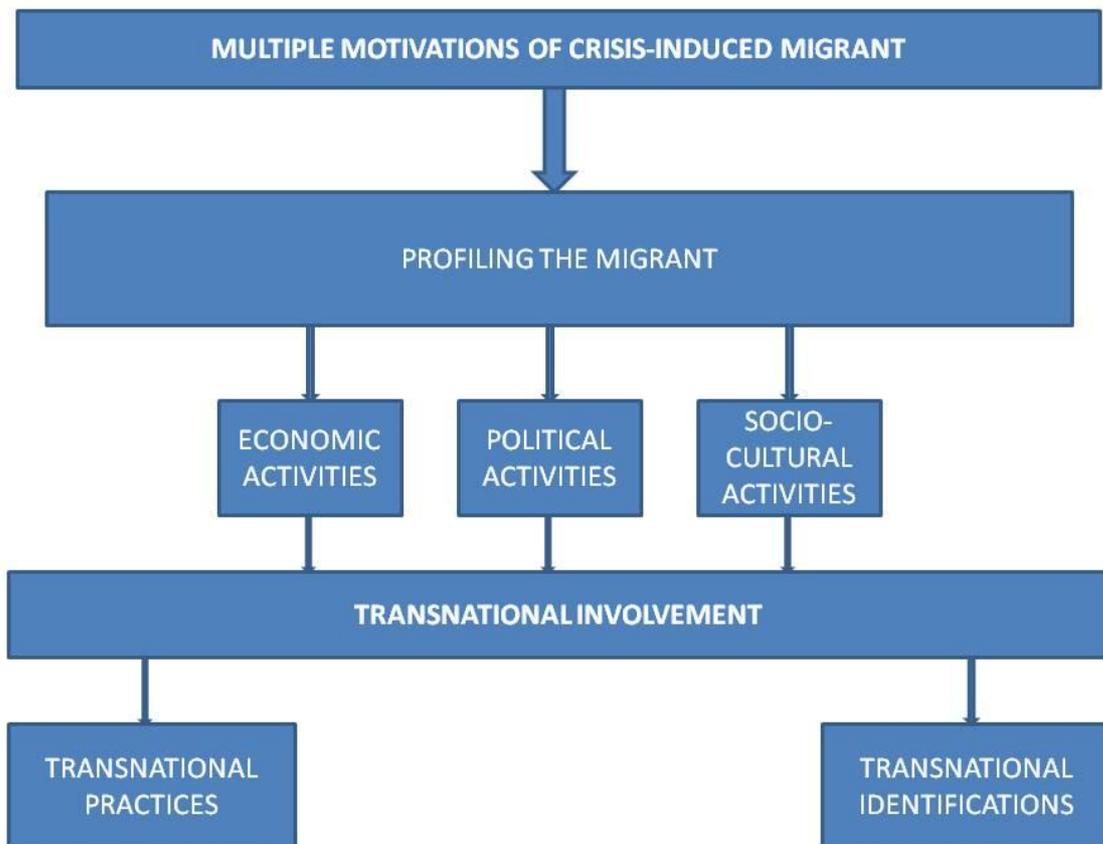
Current understanding of crisis-induced migration is limited, and explanations of migration in the general population are inappropriate in that they emphasize too much on structural factors as a motivation for long distance moves. Theoretical models of migration behaviour ignored the varying influences of the determinants of migration on types of migrants. Traditionally, the disaggregation of migration data has been into homogeneous groups according to race, sex, age or education. Like Bell (1968, p. 38) argues "*as the traditional social class structure dissolves, more and more individuals want to be identified, not by their occupational base, but by their cultural tastes and lifestyles*". There is a need to look at the crisis-induced migration from the individual's decision-making perspective. A theoretically sound typology should be proposed which identifies subgroups of crisis-induced migrants who are hypothesized to share similar migration motivations. In history some work has been done on examining the links between migration and different '*modes of orientation*' (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993, p. 341) For example, Beshers (1967; see also Halfacree and Boyle, 1993) characterized three categories of migrants, being '*the purposive rational*', '*the traditional*' and '*the hedonistic*'. The purposive rational type of migrant considers and plans migration with an objective analysis of the alternatives based on long-term occupational and life-style goals. The traditional type of migrant is relating migration to custom and habit in the country of destination. The hedonistic type of migrant responds to immediate needs and feelings hereby lacking future orientation and determined by situational factors such as day by day employment opportunities (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993; Jackson, 1969). Likewise, although more comprehensive, Bell (1958; see also Halfacree and Boyle, 1993) suggests that life styles with regard to migration can be classified in four 'ideal type preference classes', namely '*careerists*', '*community seekers*', '*consumerists*' and '*family types*'. The careerists are considered to be migrants who strive to develop their career, either financially, by international experience, or a higher occupation, and achieve this aim by migration. The community seeker can be described as a migrant whose decision to migrate is founded in the interest to live in another culture, either in generality, or specifically through the interest in the people, the norms and values, and/ or the habits within the country of destination. The consumerist is being concerned with 'having a good time' and is looking for an experience abroad to enrich his own joy in life. The family type of migrant can be described as someone who moves through family considerations. The main motivation of migration lays for this type of migrant is the household situation in which the highest priority is family gain, rather than personal gain (Bell, 1958; Veal 2000).

In the subsequent work of Bell (1968, p. 132 – 168) this categorization is repeated but with a further developed social dimension that describes that migration can be seen partly resulting from structural forces and partly resulting from choices made by individuals about how and where to lead their lives.

“... at one level we have the decisions of leaders or managers of large-scale organizations .. Changes in transportation and communication, sewerage systems, water supply, power, industry and commerce, finance, the role of government at all levels, economic growth and distribution, education, leisure and entertainment facilities, to mention but a few relevant items, are both consequences of decision-making of some particular persons and organizations and consequential for alternative choices open to others at any given time... On another level we have the sum total of the decisions of millions of individuals making their way through their own small worlds.” (Bell, 1968, p 161).

It is within these contexts where individuals make choices to pursue certain future ideas, one such decision is the decision to migrate from one country to another, to emulate what is perceived as a more desirable life style (Veal, 2000).

3.5 THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



This conceptual framework is created as a conclusion on the theory and an outline of the courses of action within this research. The highest level of the conceptual framework reflects the multiple motivations of the crisis-induced migrants moving from Spain to Morocco and aims to analyze the migrants' aspirations acknowledging migration as a socially embedded event wherein the migrants' multiple motivations should be recognised. Through the analysis, we can profile the migrant with categorizing the respondents through the migrants' main characteristics and a comprehensive migrant typology based on their multiple motivations, represented in the second level of the framework (described in chapter five). As mentioned before, this study employs the concept of 'bifocality' to grasp the interactions between the migrants' 'place of origin' and 'place of destination' to gain a bigger understanding of the forming of transnational communities. Therefore, the second level of this conceptual framework focuses on the migrants' economic, political, and socio-cultural activities in the place of origin as well as the place of destination, continuing with the extent of transnational involvement within these three spheres on the third level within the framework. The transnational involvement of the migrant is reflected in their transnational practices and identifications, presented in the lowest level of the conceptual framework (addressed in chapter six).

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter will present the research questions and concerns the methods that are being utilized aiming to explore relevant issues that are related to the so-called crisis-induced North-South migration from Spain into Morocco. In order to gain more knowledge on this particular process of migration, I travelled the route from the country of origin, Spain, to the country of destination, Morocco. During a period of four months I spoke to many Spanish migrants to get a better understanding on their situations, their economic, political and socio-cultural activities, and their transnational involvement. Moreover, I interviewed several migration experts, Spanish citizens, Moroccan citizens, but also crisis-induced Moroccan migrants to get a better insight into this reversed pattern of migration.

As this research is innovative in a way that it is focussing on “North-South” migration, and in particular on migration from Spain towards Morocco, a reversed pattern from the so much discussed “South-North” migration from Morocco to Spain, some might argue that it is “premature”, as this new migration pattern is still at the beginning of its trend. Precisely for the reason that there is so little known about this new trend, it makes it an interesting and valuable research topic to study. Moreover, this study supports the outdated annotation of the “North-South” divide. As countries become economically developed, they might become part of the “North”, regardless of their geographical location, while other countries which do not qualify for this “developed” status are as a consequence deemed to be part of the “South.” Besides, being categorized as part of the “North” implies development in contrast to belonging to the “South”, which implies a lack of development.

As to the outline of this chapter, the first section will present my central question and research questions, and the second section will give an explanation on the selected research design for this study. The third section contains a description of the different research methods and their relevance for the answering of the research questions in the first section. This is followed by the explanation and operationalization of the research population in section 4.4. Section 4.5 covers the trustworthiness of this research followed by the last section that will give insight into the risks and limitations of this research (section 4.6).

4.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section will present my central question that guided me during my research period, followed by a subdivision of research questions together with a brief explanation on the definition importance of each question.

CENTRAL QUESTION

“What are the aspirations of Spanish crisis-induced migrants to migrate to Morocco and to what extent do they create a transnational lifeworld?”

The central question needs some further explanation as it contains terminology that is extensively discoursed within literature and through the years have been ascribed with multiple definitions. The first

term is the 'aspiration' to migrate, which has been addressed in a variety of ways in existing migration theory. In the context of this research I draw on the study of Carling (2001) who argues that a migration aspiration is the motivation to move to an elsewhere influenced by the social context on the macro-level and the migrants' characteristics and perspectives on the individual level. The second term is 'lifeworld', a concept that is used in philosophy, and sociology. In this study I utilize the most recent conceptualization of lifeworld by Kraus (2013), who combines lifeworld with life conditions and argues that lifeworld in this sense portrays the individuals' subjectively experienced world, whereas life conditions explains the persons' actual circumstances in life. Therefore, it can be said that the migrants' lifeworld is built depending on his or her particular life conditions. In specific, the life conditions include the material and immaterial living circumstances including the employment situation, availability of material resources, and the social environment.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How does the crisis influence migration from Spain to Morocco?

As the economic crisis in Spain is triggering "North-South" migration and this can be considered as a new and uncommon pattern in migration flows, it is important to have background information on the influence of the economic crisis in Spain on migration flows to Morocco. This research question will be discussed in "Chapter 2. The regional thematic framework that will explain the transformation in both Spain as well as Morocco, and the impact of this transformation on migration patterns."

2. What are the characteristics and aspirations of crisis-induced migrants in their migration from Spain to Morocco?

This research question will provide information on whom these migrants are, what their educational background and working experience is and what their aspirations are to migrate to Morocco, and will be addressed in "Chapter 5. The migration motivation: migrant's characteristics and aspirations through a biographical lens", utilizing the biographical approach to grasp the diversity of motivations amongst the respondents.

3. In what kind of socio-cultural, political and economic practices are these migrants involved and to what extent are these practices transnational?

As the practices of these migrants within the social-cultural, political and economic life in Tangier are shaping their lifeworld, it is essential to get more insight into these practices and explore what the degree of transnational involvement is through portraying the transnational 'lived experiences' of the crisis-induced Spanish migrants. Therefore this research question will provide insight into the migrants' practices in the economic, political and socio-cultural spheres and the degree of transnational involvement within these three fields. This research question will be discussed in "Chapter 6. The migration experience: migrants' practices through a transnational lens." It will do so by giving an enhanced 'bifocality' of outlooks

underpinning migrant lives lived here-and-there by looking through a transnational lens to the practices performed by the crisis-induced Spanish migrants.

4. What kind of identifications are shaped through the crisis-induced migration and how do these identifications influence the creation of migrant transnational lifeworlds?

The last research question will examine the constitution of migrant identifications to study with whom the respondents identify, and the influence of these identifications in the creation of the migrants transnational lifeworlds and will be discussed in chapter six. It will also include the integration of the migrant into the host society as this reflects part of the migrants' identification within his or her transnational lifeworld.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

As to the research design of this study, an exploratory design is being utilized that helps to contribute to a qualitative understanding of the causes, means and effects of Spanish labour migration into Morocco through portraying the migrants' personal development in their transnational worlds. Put differently, as this topic is in a preliminary stage, this type of research will contribute in providing significant insight into questions of 'who, what, when, where and how' associated with the crisis-induced "North-South" migrants that entered the local labour market in Tangier. My methodology is in line with the biographical approach fostered by Halfacree and Boyle (1993), in which it is of high importance to acknowledge migration as a socially embedded event wherein the migrants' multiple motivations should be recognised. This study employs the concept of 'bifocality' to grasp the interactions between the migrants' 'place of origin' and 'place of destination' to gain a bigger understanding of the forming of transnational communities. Thus, rather than explaining migration by only focussing on the migrants' decision-making prior to their exit, this approach recognizes migration as the outcome of multiple reasons of individuals and thereby regarding economic factors not necessarily decisive. This is in line with different scholars that emphasize the perspective of multiplicity instead of restraining with economic reductionism, to actually understand migration (Schapendonk, 2011).

Another important notion in view of my approach during this study is that it positions the migrants' experiences at the centre of the empirical analysis of migration, and thus giving the migrant a central voice in the story of migration. This principle emphasizes that the view of mobility, as with the geographical concept of place, is saturated with social sense (Schapendonk, 2011). As Pascual-de-Sans (2004) argues, mobility, such as place, always has a personal history. Regarding this study, the focus is on the migrants' specific aspects within the aspirations and restrictions that they encounter in their whole migration trajectory, as the migrants' personal history is a reconstruction of specific facets, parts and cycles of the environment or lifeworld of the migrant, and not a reconstruction of their whole life (Schapendonk, 2011).

4.3 RESEARCH METHODS

In this section I will point out which specific methods and techniques have proven to be useful for my research on crisis-induced “North-South” migration. The data collected during my fieldwork is of qualitative nature in the form of interviews, participant observations, work visits and open conversations. Each of these tools will be explained in the next two sections.

4.3.1 INTERVIEWING

The research questions elaborated in section 4.1 will be largely addressed via the interviews held during my research, which is the main research instrument of the thesis. As interviewing is an often-used method in qualitative studies and is characterised by the way in which the context influences the content, formulation, and order of the questions, as well as the choice of answers (Boeije, 2005, p. 57), the context of my study also depended on the level of structure of the interviews. For this reason, I used different types of interviews, which provided me with different information. The tools that proved to be suitable for my research were the natural conversations and semi-structured interviews. Because of the interpersonal nature of interviewing it was a very rewarding research method, allowing insights into individuals’ lives, which go beyond observations and surveys (Potter, 2010, p. 151). The interviews taken are considered to be with my respondents: the crisis-induced migrants from Spain, specialists in the field of migration and the Spanish-Moroccan international relationships, with key informants, being employers of Spanish migrants and Moroccan return-migrants that once migrated to Spain, but came back to Morocco through the crisis. As to my respondents, I interviewed twenty crisis-induced Spanish migrants with different backgrounds, active in various sectors of the labour market in Tangier (see table 1.6). The interviews vary from rather unstructured conversational style with the respondents, to give them time to elaborate on certain issues that shaped their migration experience, to a much more rigid question-and-answer format with the key informants (Potter, 2010, p. 144). The type of interview or conversation depended on the relation I had with the informant and the kind of information needed. Although I made use of topic lists and although I had prepared important questions in advance, the progress of the interviews highly depended on the responses of my informants and the extent I value the questions and answers to be useful and important. In general, my informants inspired me in thinking about the research subjects and by doing so inspired me in creating new questions and/or topics necessary to a complete answer for my research questions.

Most of my interviews started with pressing issues related to the migrants’ experiences. The majority of the issues were related to frustrations within the economic, political and social situation in Spain, considered to be the main structural factors involved in the migration process. Important to note here is that I made a distinction in the migrants’ perspective before migration and after migration, by asking them how they experienced the economic, political and socio-cultural situation before they came to Morocco, and how they experience this situation now. This was significant for my research as it connects the macro-environment with the micro decision-making process of the migrant and it grasps part of the

migrants' history as well which is, as mentioned before, almost coterminous with migration. When talking about the migration itself, I asked them both what their motivations were to migrate and what their motivations were to migrate to Morocco in specific because I wanted to make a distinction between the reasons for leaving an origin and the reasons for choosing a destination.

Moreover, I questioned if they had earlier motives or wishes to leave the home country, or a motivation to come to Morocco in specific. Although not making for easy generalization, my analysis needed to recognize explicitly multiple reasons for moving, in line with the biographical approach I utilized during my research. To grasp the transnational involvement of the migrant we talked about their perspective on the economic, political and socio-cultural situation in Morocco as well as their practices and difficulties within these spheres. Furthermore, we talked about the involvement in these three domains in the country of origin after migration. Besides that, we discussed the experiences in Morocco at the beginning compared to the experiences nowadays to grasp the differences and similarities within these experiences and to say something about their level of integration. Most of the time, I concluded my interview with asking if the expectations that they had when coming to Morocco were met, and if they would do it all over again, if they could. Regarding the interviews with my twenty respondents, in total I carried out 32 in-depth interviews of which twelve were 'repeat' interviews, in which I interviewed a respondent twice or three times. The majority of these interviews were taped, and I transcribed it in both Spanish and English. In general, I was very much surprised by the openness and willingness of the respondents to share their story with me in such way that I was able to shape a detailed description of their lives here-and-there.

4.3.2 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

One of the tools to use as a researcher is participant observation, which defines itself as establishing rapport and learning to act so that people go about their business as usual. It also requires distancing yourself from cultural immersion so you can intellectualize what you have learned, put it into perspective and write about it. In my case participant observation did not only mean that I observed a particular situation but it also involved natural conversations. Participant observation was suitable for my research as it let me collect different kinds of data. Through participant observation I was privileged to witness and participate in aspects of lives not open to strangers. It reduced the problem of reactivity as people change their behaviour when they know they are being studied, and thus this increased the trustworthiness of my research. It helped me formulate sensible questions and improved the efficacy of other data techniques. Furthermore, it provided intuition about what is going on and allowed me to better interpret data. To put participant observation in practice during my field research, I visited the migrants in their working environment, and so-called 'migrant places', (Schapendonk, 2011) such as Spanish bars and cafes, to seek the act of migrants going about their business as usual.

4.4 THE RESEARCH POPULATION

The research population of this study exists of crisis-induced migrants, being Spanish citizens migrating from Spain to Morocco to enter the local labour market in Tangier. A Spanish citizen can be defined as a migrant with the Spanish nationality that moved from Spain to Morocco through the economic crisis and entered the local labour market in Tangier. The migrant is considered to be a labour migrant and can be skilled and unskilled, employer or employee.

The research population is selected through purposive selection with a snowball effect, as the research population is scattered over the research area and located in different sectors. This 'snowballing' effect implies a technique to find new respondents through existing connections with other participants and appeared to be a very effective strategy to find more respondents as the Spanish migrants remained strongly in contact with people from their country of origin. At the first stage, the migrants were found via expat blogs, through visiting a Spanish neighbourhood called Iberia, Spanish institutes such as Instituto Cervantes and Instituto Espanol, companies such as call centres, and construction sites but also through social meeting places, such as bars and cafes. Moreover, a pre-research was conducted during my stay in the south of Spain on migration flows from Spain to Morocco and the settlement of these migrants. At the end of my field research, in total I conducted 37 interviews with twenty migrants from different regions, with different backgrounds, with diverse aspirations, and in various sectors on the local labour market of Tangier. With ten of them I remained in contact during the whole period via email, phone, or through meeting them in their working environment or social places. By doing so, I was able to strengthen the image of the migrants' life and to grasp their strategies, their changing motivations, practices and identities. Concerning the selection of my respondents, it is relevant to mention here, there exists a gender bias in my research. Only six of my twenty respondents are female. The most important explanation for this bias is that the overall crisis-induced Spanish migrant population within Tangier is male dominated. According to the numbers of the Spanish Embassy in Rabat the percentage of male migrants from Spain in Morocco is 78 percent (Spanish Embassy, 2013). A logical explanation for this could be the fact that the biggest job losses in Spain were particularly severe in the male-dominated industries of construction, finance and manufacturing, and particularly construction is currently one of the main industries of Tangier (Faoud el Omar, Mayor of Tangier in an interview on 16 April, 2013). Anecdotal evidence of the Spanish consulate argues that this bias is also present in the city of Tangier, whereas a high concentration of Spanish crisis-induced migrants is situated in the construction sector (Interview with Amal Boussef, Director of the Spanish Consulate, 2013).

4.5 TRUSTWORTHINESS

Even though I believe that my research can be supportive and relevant for other studies related to this study, I consider that the results of the study cannot be generalized. Influential factors such as the economy, social and political environment, impact, and the small size of the study, will most probably

impact some of the responses and the outcomes. However, I do believe that many outcomes and responses can be important and meaningful to other studies on “North-South” migration through an economic crisis. I made use of a few sorts of methods in order to improve the validity, one of them being triangulation; this means that a few sorts of measurements will take place from different points of views. The first one to use is theoretical triangulation, which will diminish the hazard to fall back in one theory. As seen in the theoretical framework, I have consulted different theories in order to avoid constraining and generalizing the crisis-induced “North-South” flow of migration and its creation of opportunities and transnational linkages. Moreover, I made use of data triangulation with different kinds of data collection that improved the reliability of my research. Furthermore, I made use of “inter-rater reliability”; in this way other researchers provide a reliability check. With them I discussed my styles of interviews, the questions, the outcomes of data gathering and my interpretations. Besides the checks done by other researchers, I also made use of the method “member checks”. I discussed my interpretations and notes with my informants; in this way they could give feedback on the information and outcomes. Furthermore, with the majority of the migrants I had multiple interviews and conversations that strengthened my perspective on their migrant stories. Also, as mentioned before, with a number of migrants I remained in contact during the whole period of this research via email, phone, or through meeting them in their working environment or social places. By doing so, I was able to strengthen the image of the migrants’ life and to grasp their strategies, their changing perspectives, aspirations, practices and identifications.

4.6 OVERCOMING LIMITATIONS AND RISKS OF RESEARCH

In the first stage of my field research I encountered problems with finding my research population, as the Spanish crisis-induced migrants concerns a relatively small group, that is scattered around different areas in Tangier. Although it was a time-consuming process, with several resources, including the Spanish consulate, journalists, professors in the area of migration, conversations with local inhabitants, and the snowball effect I used during my interviews with the respondents, I got across this limitation.

Furthermore, extra attention needed to go out to the cross-cultural identity of my research where differences of language, custom and practice, wealth, power and knowledge could represent barriers to effective data collection and research (Potter, 2010, p. 170). To overcome the barrier of language, I started my research period with a Spanish language course in the south of Spain. Although my Spanish language improved significantly, in some cases I needed an interpreter to overcome this barrier. Besides this, the transcription of my interviews was being done together with the supervision of my Spanish teacher, Laia Esverzar, to ensure the quality of the translation.

Moreover, as my research topic evolved into a ‘hot topic’ within the media during my stay, some of my respondents associated my project with reports and articles published by the media. The question “Are you a journalist?” – was asked regularly. Therefore, it was not surprising that a number of my respondents had

second thoughts about whether or not to participate in the research project. The first challenge for me was to explain to my respondents that my project was not used for journalistic purposes, that everything they shared with me was in complete confidence and, if wished, anonymity and it was solely utilized for the purposes of my thesis. Another challenge I encountered was to find a suitable location for the interview. Half of my interviews took place within the homes of the migrants, where they felt comfortable talking about their experiences. Other interviews took place in their working environment or social meeting places, such as Spanish restaurants and bars.

5. THE MIGRATION MOTIVATION: MIGRANTS' CHARACTERISTICS AND ASPIRATIONS THROUGH A BIOGRAPHICAL LENS

Over the years there have been calls for an approach in migration research that involves conceptualizing migration as a part of individual biographies as well as social structures. For example, as read in the theoretical framework, Halfacree and Boyle (1993) with their plea for a biographical approach, argue that it is of high importance to acknowledge migration as a socially embedded event wherein the migrants' multiple motivations should be recognised. However, there is little research that explicitly adopts a biographical approach.

This chapter will start profiling the migrant with categorizing the respondents through a comprehensive migrant typology based on their multiple motivations. Hereafter the reader will be introduced to the respondents central in this research by representing the main characteristics of the migrants including the age, education, gender, household situation, and occupation, together with the assigned typology of the respondents. It will continue with giving insight in the multiple motivations using a humanistic methodology by putting the migrants' subjectivity and their experiences at the centre of the empirical analysis of migration, looking at the individual as the decision maker and thereby providing the migrant with a voice in the story of migration. That said, the biographical approach utilized in this study, recognizes migration as the result of multifarious reasons of individuals and explains migrations in the framework of people's life courses instead of merely looking at migrants' decision-making just before departure (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). Moreover, by highlighting this multiplicity it overcomes deduction to economic factors as these factors are not necessarily decisive in the migrants' motivation for migration (Schapendonk, 2011).

Although not necessarily conclusive, in the light of the structure-agency debate in which human behaviour is determined by external forces and the extent to which people exercise free will, it is a key challenge in migration research, to disentangle various influences and context, and therefore extend to consideration of contextual factors. Clearly the consequences of the economic, political and social forces in society cannot be ignored since the decisions of individuals are shaped by these forces in a fundamental way (Veal, 2000). As to this study, contextual factors of influence on the migration decision-making process such as the economic and political situation in the country of origin and the accessibility of the country of destination, are likely to be intertwined with personal factors. Put differently, contextual factors are at all times 'personalized' in migration biographies in the sense that each individual experiences these factors in a different way. Therefore, I will continue with giving insight into the contextual factors within the country of origin and the country of destination that influence the migrants' decision whether to migrate to Tangier, Morocco. It will do so with the migrant's perspective on the economic and political situation in their country of origin, and the country-factors that increase accessibility in the country of destination.

This chapter will finalize with an in-depth conclusion on the influence of both personal motivations as well as contextual factors and the shaping of these factors within the migrants' motivations.

5.1 MIGRANT TYPOLOGY

Although the migrants' main characteristics such as age, education, gender and household situation (see table 1.6 for the respondents main characteristics) might have an influence on the migration decision-making process, they can be considered as traditional standard variables that are not easily related to questions "*who will use drugs, engage in orgies and wife-swapping, become an open homosexual, use obscenity as a political style*" (Bell, 1968, p. 38), or choose to migrate from the so-called 'North' to the so-called 'South'. Like Bell (1968, p. 38) argues strongly, "*as the traditional social class structure dissolves, more and more individuals want to be identified not by their occupational base (in the Marxist sense), but by their cultural tastes and life-styles*". As subsequent work in this area has been rather sparse, it is insightful to utilize theoretically sound typologies of migrants in analysing their motivations and experiences.

As mentioned before in the theoretical framework, there are large varieties in types of migration, migrants relocate within their own country and between countries; some individuals move temporarily, others permanently; some people migrate voluntarily, others by force; some move with high levels of financial and human capital; others are less endowed. Making conclusive generalized observations about these migratory flows is not easy (Sirkandarajah, 2005). In view of the fact that migration is an excessively cultural event with migrants' disclosing their personality, and expressing their desires and values (Fielding, 1992), it is a complex task to categorize the migrants into different typologies without stigmatization. However, as mentioned in the theoretical framework, in the past, there has been some research on examining the linkages between migration and different 'modes of orientation'. For example, Beshers (1967; see also Halfacree and Boyle, 1993) characterized three categories of migrants, being '*the purposive rational*' that consider and plan their migration, '*the traditional*' that relate migration to custom and habit, and '*the hedonistic*' that respond to immediate needs and feelings. Likewise, although more comprehensive, Bell (1958; 1968; see also Halfacree and Boyle, 1993) suggests that life styles with regard to migration can be classified in four 'ideal type preference classes', namely '*family types*', '*careerists*', '*community seekers*' and '*consumerists*', the latter being concerned with 'having a good time'.

Inevitably stigmatizing in a way, however, Bell's (1958; 1968) four categories of 'ideal type preference classes' are clearly distinguishable in the various pallet of respondents within this study. Based on the biographies collected in the field, there is an apparent group that primarily migrated through family considerations, individuals migrating for their career, through identifications with the country and/or the culture, but also just to have a good time. It is important here to put emphasis on the word 'primarily' as we should expect to find several reasons for migration. Therefore these categories could be intertwined, which is demonstrating the stigmatization in Bell's migration typology. However, Bell's typology regarding

to migration sounds plausible for utilization to categorize the diverse pallet of respondents as it grasps a wide area, including the often forgotten social dimension with emphasis on the migrants' choice and lifestyle. On the basis of the respondents' biographies the migrants will be classified in the category '*family types*', '*careerists*', '*community seekers*' or '*consumerists*'. The use of typologies is a functional way to obtain an overview of the diversity of motivations. However, at the same time there is a tension between a strict classification in typologies and my previously stated goal to do justice to the plurality of aspirations, as in the biographical approach. For this reason I chose the option to combine the different typologies. More practically, seeing the fact that more than half of the respondents gave more than one reason for their decision to migrate, they cannot be categorized in only one typology. For example, it would be stigmatizing to consider a migrant that in the first place decided to move because of his or her career but also declares to have an interest in the country and its' culture, solely as a '*careerist*'. To avoid stigmatization as much as possible, the respondents that gave multiple motivations and fit in more than one category, will be categorized in more typologies. As for the other part of the research group, the respondents who gave one single motivation for their decision to migrate were the migrants that declared that their only motivation to come to Morocco was for work, thus the '*careerist*' and the migrants who declared that the only reason to move to Morocco was family reunion, thus the '*family type*'. This means that in theory there are eight combinations, found in table 1.5 below.

Table 1.5 Migrant typology

Bell's migrant typology	Combined migrant typology in theory	Utilized migrant typology in practice
The careerist	The careerist	The careerist
The community seeker	The careerist – community seeker	The careerist – community seeker
The consumerist	The careerist - consumerist	The careerist - consumerist
The family type	The community seeker – consumerist	The community seeker - consumerist
	The family type	The family type
	The family type – careerist	
	The family type – community seeker	
	The family type - consumerist	

Source: Bell, 1968 & Interviews with respondents, 2013

In practice, as we will see below, there are no respondents that gave multiple motivations that fitted into the categories '*family type – consumerist*', '*family type – community seeker*, and '*family type – careerist*', so that leaves us with five categories of migrants (see table 1.5 for utilized migrant typology). In the multiple motivations of the respondents all categories will be delineated in the migrants' vignettes.

5.2 PROFILING THE MIGRANT

As an introduction to the respondents in this research, table 1.6 (on page 50 and 51) serves as a presentation of the Spanish crisis-induced migrant representing the main characteristics such as age, education, gender, household situation, and occupation, together with the assigned typology of the respondents.

Concerning the demographic characteristics of the migrants in this study, as can be seen in the table below, the age among the respondents differs widely, from the young 28-year old Alberto to the retired 68-year old Tony. However, the majority of the respondents is middle-aged and the average age among the respondents is 42.55 year. This is somewhat remarkable as anecdotal evidence shows that mainly young Spaniards migrate to other countries for employment opportunities as the unemployment level among this group is highest (see chapter 2, section 2.1.1). Considering the gender distribution within the research group, there exists a gender bias in this research, as only six out of twenty respondents are female. As mentioned before, this can partly be explained through the fact that the overall crisis-induced Spanish migrant population within Morocco is male-dominated. According to the numbers of the Spanish Embassy in Rabat the percentage of male migrants from Spain in Morocco is 78 percent (Spanish Embassy, 2013). Anecdotal evidence of the Spanish consulate argues that this bias is also present in the city of Tangier, whereas a high concentration of Spanish crisis-induced migrants is situated in the construction sector (Interview with Amal Boussef, Director of the Spanish Consulate, 2013). As to the marital status of my respondents, this ranges from respondents being single, to being in a relationship, to being married (with children), or being divorced (with children living in Spain). It is expected that the marital status of the respondent also influences the decision to migrate. As to the permit type of the migrants, the majority of the respondents do not have a residence card as they don't see the benefits in this. To apply for a resident card, non-Moroccan nationals have to present supporting documents of their place of residence as well as the reason of residence. Examples of these documents include a job contract, an employment verification, an averment of registration for students, a proof of investment or a marriage certificate for non-Moroccan nationals married to Moroccan nationals. When first assigned, the residence card is valid for one year, and should be renewed every year (Moroccan Consulate, 2013). Such a visa is not a requirement for a Spaniard to enter Morocco for a stay of maximum three months. Officially, visitors intending to stay in Morocco longer than 90 days, should request a permission to extend the duration of their stay. However, in practice, to renew their stay, the migrants only need to step on Spanish soil, which includes the Spanish enclaves Ceuta and Melilla in Morocco.

I consider the Spanish economic crisis as the main important context factor that is affecting migrants' aspirations. With this in mind, the respondents in this research can be considered as *crisis-induced migrants*. To elaborate on the term crisis-induced migrant, such a migrant can be considered as a Spaniard hit by the crisis in Spain, thereby lacking opportunities in his or her country of origin.

This economic dimension, however, does not fully determine people's choices. In other words, the presence of an economic crisis does not necessarily vanish other motivations to become mobile across borders. With the biographical approach we remain sensitive to other dimensions to migration and avoid a form of economic determinism. As mentioned before, the use of typologies is a useful way to obtain an overview of the diversity of motivations among the respondents. Table 1.6 includes an overview of the allocation of migrant typologies per respondent. Based on the biographies collected in the field, I made a division of migrants grounded in Bell's migrant typology (1958; 1968) with the majority of respondents being careerists (nine out of twenty), five being careerists – community seekers, two being careerists – consumerists, also two being community seekers – consumerists, and two being family types. The choice of allocation of typologies becomes clear in the vignettes of the respondents in the following section (see section 5.3).

Given the economic crisis, it is not a surprise that the majority of migrants in my research can be considered as immigrants for employment as their migration process took place with the purpose of employment, or labour migration. Many of the former unemployed share a similar profile: they sent out resume by the dozen, hoping an employer will hire them but most of them didn't get the chance to prove themselves. The majority started to doubt themselves, to feel useless and without the right skill set because as they state, there was no way to work in Spain. There is one word that comes up quite frequently during the interviews: "opportunity". It is something that the home country of the crisis-induced migrants has failed to give them. They want to have the opportunity to demonstrate their capacities, their skills, and their hard work. In general these migrants can be considered as middle to highly skilled migrants as it is those with a higher level of skills who have a chance of making it abroad (Alonso, 2011).

Table 1.6 Migrants' characteristics

Name	Age	Gender	Household Status	Region of origin	Permit type	Education	Occupation	Time of migration	Type of migrant
Remedios	44	Female	Unmarried, in a relationship with Moroccan man	Torremolinos-Malaga, Andalucia	Tourist visa*	Conservatorium	Singer	January 2013	Careerist and community seeker
Antonio	42	Male	Divorced, three children living in Spain	Granada, Andalucia	Tourist visa*	Ba: building engineering, Ms: business administration	Project manager in real estate	June 2011	Careerist and community seeker
Carlos	29	Male	Unmarried, relationship with Spanish woman	Zamorra	Tourist visa*	Ba: Mechanical engineering	Mechanical engineer	December 2012	Careerist
Alberto	28	Male	Unmarried, single	Valladolid	Tourist visa*	Ba: Chemical engineering	Chemical engineer	October 2012	Careerist
Maryan	39	Female	Unmarried, single	Malaga	Tourist visa*	Art academy	Coordinator at event agency	January 2012	Careerist
Maria	33	Female	Unmarried, single	Malaga	Tourist visa*	Tourism	Director at event agency	January 2012	Careerist and community seeker
Juan	44	Male	Unmarried, relationship with Moroccan woman	Valencia	Tourist visa*	Engineering	Restaurant owner and chef cook	April 2011	Careerist
Carmelo	48	Male	Unmarried, relationship with Spanish woman	Badajoz, Extremadura	Tourist visa*	Ba: Civil engineering	Civil engineer	January 2012	Careerist
Anna	46	Female	Married with Spanish man, one child	Barcelona	Residence card	Social Relations	Former: PR-manager Current: Music teacher	August 2011	Family type
Pedro	33	Male	Single	Albacete, La Mancha	Tourist visa*	Philology	Spanish teacher	January 2013	Careerist and consumerist

Roberto	34	Male	Unmarried, relationship with Moroccan woman	Villarobledo, La Mancha	Tourist visa*	History	Former: Spanish Teacher: Currently: unemployed	April 2012	Community seeker and consumerist
Gabi	32	Female	Single	Malaga	Tourist visa*	Communications	Singer	February 2013	Careerist and community seeker
Pablo	52	Male	Married	Cadiz	Tourist visa*	Law	Former: lawyer Restaurant owner	January 2011	Careerist and consumerist
Saida	38	Female	Married to Moroccan man, three children	Barcelona	Residence card	Communications	Unemployed	March 2010	Family type
Manuel	57	Male	Married, two children living in Spain	Madrid	Tourist visa*	Industrial engineering	Owner transport company	September 2010	Careerist
Tony	68	Male	Divorced, two children living in Spain	Valencia	Tourist visa*	Soldier	Former: soldier Current: retired	October 2011	Community seeker and consumerist
Gines	46	Male	Unmarried	Murcia	Residence card	Building engineering	Owner construction company	January 2011	Careerist
Alfonso	48	Male	Unmarried	Murcia	Residence card	Building engineering	Owner construction company	January 2011	Careerist
Andrez	51	Male	Single	Murcia	Residence card	Primary school	Former: restaurant owner Current: Truck driver	April 2011	Careerist
Miguel	36	Male	Single	Valencia	Tourist visa*	Law	Call centre employee	September 2012	Careerist and community seeker

Source: interviews with crisis-induced Spanish migrants, Tangier, Morocco, 2013

* Tourist visa: permit for three months with possibility for extension on Spanish ground (incl. Ceuta and Melilla)

5.3 SEEKING THE MIGRANTS' MULTIPLE MOTIVATIONS THROUGH TYPOLOGIES

In history, migration has frequently been considered as purely economically motivated. As Shaw (1975, p. 14) argues, *“the guiding premise of this approach is that man is economically rational, an economic maximizer”*, and that he will observe and evaluate migration on this basis. However, this approach does not explain individual behaviour (Portes, 2001) because if such factors affect everyone such as in a time of economic crisis, why do only some move? Thus, structural factors within economic and political spheres are not necessarily decisive within the migration process and personal factors form a large part within decision-making. Therefore, this section will give insight into the personal biography of the migrant whereby migration flows are interpreted by the interplay of the choices and decisions of individual migrants (Zoomers, 2006).

To explain personal choices and decisions, it is necessary to obtain in-depth information from individual migrants. The migrants motivations can vary from the wish to expand the career to identification with the culture of the destination country, or migrating purely out of family considerations. This is reflected within each of the typologies utilized in this study in which every typology is represented by the motivations of two migrants. To grasp the diversity within this versatile pallet of migrants, I made the decision to represent the biographies of different migrants within each typology.

THE CAREERIST – this type can be considered as the migrant who strives to develop his or her career, either financially, by international experience, or a higher occupation, and achieves this aim by migration. Nine of the twenty respondents in this study can be considered as careerists. The motivations of two careerists will be cited here, namely that of Carlos and that of Carmelo, as they give a thorough illustration of a careerist.

When asking the 29-year old Carlos, working as a mechanical engineer, for his motivations to migrate to Morocco, he delineated as follows: *“I came to Morocco because I didn't have any other choice. It was either this work or nothing. Besides gaining professional experience, and hoping that Spain will improve in a few years, I wanted to try to have a better job, work abroad, expand my knowledge of languages, to have a good basis to be qualified for a good job in Spain when the market is strengthening again. The truth. And my job here is not ideal, but it's okay. I have been here for seven months and I honestly expected a little bit more out of it. It's not bad and I could spend another one or two years here but I can't see this as a place where you spend your entire life. I am here to learn more, to have an international curriculum. This starts in Morocco, but I would also like to know other countries, to work in other countries. Fairly speaking I definitely doubted a little to migrate to*

*Morocco, but I didn't have many options, there was no work in Spain but there was work here. But it's not easy, because my family, my friends, I had to leave everyone. But hey, at the time I was hired, I thought, I will go but come back. I do not see myself living whole my life outside Spain. But now I am young I can do it."*¹

For the young Carlos the main incentive of his migration was the need for work. Furthermore, a major motivation for migration to Morocco is the ability to expand his career with international experiences to have a stronger position on the (Spanish) labour market. Carlos came to Morocco with the security of having a job, within the same company in which he was operating in Spain. This company could not provide him work in Spain anymore but offered him an opportunity in Morocco. What is interesting here, is that this part of the migration aspiration is rooted in the return to Spain. Put differently, part of Carlos' motivation to migrate came from the desire to have a stronger position within the country of origin when returning and thus, before migration there was already an intention to return. This makes it a somewhat defined migration project; to go to Tangier, work for a specific period of time, and then leave to another country or Spain, depending on the opportunities. Naturally these intentions can change through time. In his motivation he finalizes with a remark about his age in relation to migration by stating that he has to take advantage of the fact he is still young by expanding his career in Morocco. His motivation is in line with the theory of the human capital model of migration that postulates that young educated individuals are the most likely to migrate because they have the most to gain. Through a longer life span, the present value of any flow of income differences is greater for young people, contributing to a strong incentive to move after education (Lucas, 1997).

As regards to the migration motivation of the 47-year old civil engineer Carmelo, he commented with the following: *"In Spain the priority now is to have a job in order to eat. In Morocco with the same salary you live a lot better. The real estate industry is in trouble in Spain. In Morocco the activity is idling bit if you have the skills and the knowledge required and you know the right people, because a network is really important here, then work is sufficient. Today I earn my living here. I earn less than in Spain but life here is also less expensive. With 10.000 to 15.000 DH you can live freely. In Spain you earn more but you have to spend more as well because everything is more expensive. In Morocco I have an indefinite contract. I would never find this in Spain right now. Here it was quite easy to find a job, also because I came here prepared to establish myself in the field of Civil Engineering. My current job satisfies me both personally and financially."*²

¹ Interview with Carlos, a mechanical engineer, on 26-04-2013

² Interview with Carmelo Holguera, a civil engineer, on 20-04-2013

The statement of Carmelo clearly reflects the desire to have security and stability in terms of a job and income, and better possibilities for development in his career over his life cycle or the overall period of emigration. This is in line with the reflections of Alonso (2011) who states that when determining the difference in progress and income between the country of origin and the country of destination, other factors are also taken into account, including the likelihood of access to a stable job in the country of destination, the potential for social and professional promotion that each market offers, and the level of risk related to future income flows over the migrant's life cycle in each country.

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER – this type of migrant can be described as someone who strives to develop his or her career by migration but also has the interest to live in another culture. When asking Antonio, a 42-year old project manager in real estate, about his primary and secondary reasons for migration he described this with the following two vignettes:

“For 15 years I have been working in the real estate sector, mainly involved in the hotel-sector, as a project manager in residential buildings, counselling, everything related to hotels and tourism. And then it stopped because of the Spanish crisis mainly. We like to call it the international crisis more than the Spanish crisis but it's mainly because of the Spanish crisis that a real estate bubble stopped the flow of money. There were people with money but no one wanted to spend their money. They wanted to reserve the money waiting for things to settle down. And you can't say that things have settled down. Personally I lost a lot of money and I won't see that money ever. I still have some colleagues there who are waiting for better times, at least return to normal level. Well, I couldn't wait and I had to take the decision to go somewhere else.”

“I am in a stage of... I want to take advantage of this moment. I am abroad and I have other opportunities. I would like to go to Asia. If I have the opportunity to work in Vietnam I would go to Vietnam blindfolded. If I get the opportunity to go to China, Japan... Japan is very difficult but China, Vietnam, Australia, I would do go. I would go. Even if it's on the other side of the world, I will go. I would grab the opportunity to know the world and go somewhere else and I will return back to Spain when I am fifty or fifty-five. And I retire. So I don't have any problems anymore with their system.”³

The first vignette of Antonio is reflecting the need for economic opportunities outside Spain as the crisis affected the sector in which he operates in such a way that he could not stay and wait for progress. Antonio's second statement is clearly reflecting the openness and curiosity he has for new experiences, new cultures, and new opportunities abroad, to explore the world outside Spain.

³ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, a real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013

Besides his dissatisfaction with the situation in Spain, described in the first passage, this openness and drive to develop in personal spheres, also served as an incentive to migrate to Morocco. Therefore, as regards to the migrant-typology, Antonio can be considered as the 'careerist-community seeker'.

Remedios, a 44-year old singer in the hospitality sector, also resembles the careerist – community seeker type of migrant when describing her motivations to migrate to Morocco: *“Everything has changed in Spain in the last few years. Spain is in a critical situation now in which things are very bad. This is not a matter of one or two years, this mess cannot be fixed in two years. But who needs Spain now, if the only thing that is needed is work, work, work and there is no work. I know one day I will return to Spain and my work there. But the world of employment is the key to the crisis. You can imagine what crisis means for my work, doings shows in singing became a secondary luxury because there is no money for entertainment now. Now I work in the entertainment sector for hotel Movenpick in Tangier. Right now I am singing. Singing is my biggest passion, that’s one of the reasons why I came to Morocco. Because here I can sing. In Spain I can’t.”*

“I always have felt that here one lives better than in Spain, not only now, but forever. Of course, I do not change Spain for anything. I do not change Malaga for anything, but life in Morocco is very good! Here in Morocco I feel like I am at home in my second country because I know Morocco for many years now. I always say that the people of this country are very generous and treat their guests with respect. Many countries should do the same. And with a salary of Spain here we would live very well! A salary of Spain here is living like a king! But unfortunately the truth is, there isn't much money here, we will not become rich. Economically it is not that rewarding, but because I do what I'm good at, it is very satisfying for me. Sometimes, it doesn't matter that you earn a little less, but you do what you like, right? If you are doing something that you like and you're earning a lot of money, it costs more, but I do what I like. So if I make little money right now I do not care. Because if I have work here, I prefer to work here so I am not depending on those four summer months in Spain. Here I have more opportunities.”⁴

In the first vignette it becomes clear that through the crisis Remedios did not have the opportunity to work in Spain inside her sector. In the second passage (of the same interview) she reflects her identification with Morocco in specific and links her motivation to migrate with her interest in Morocco as her destination country. What is interesting here is that she acknowledges the fact that in terms of financial prosperity, there is little progress. This rejects the plain economic theory that tends to identify the cause of migration with differences in labour compensations between Spain and

⁴ Interview with Remedios Cortes, a singer in the hotel branch, on 20-03-2013

Morocco (Alonso, 2011). Career wise, Remedios prefers to be active in the sector that she identifies with, instead of purely focussing on financial progress. Both vignettes reflect the desire to have security and stability in terms of a job and income, which is again in line with the approach of Alonso (2011) that states that it is of high importance to take factors such as the likelihood of access to a stable job in the country of destination and the potential for social and professional promotion that each market offers, into account when determining the difference in progress and income between the country of origin and the country of destination.

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST – this type of migrant seeks on one hand to develop his or her career to the desired level, and on the other hand migrates to enjoy the experience abroad. Pablo, a former lawyer that decided to migrate to Tangier to open a restaurant, fits this category. This can be seen in the following statement: *“Since I was a little kid I had the dream to have my own restaurant one day. With pressure from my family in Spain I decided to study Law and not very surprising, I became a lawyer after I finished my university. After working for more than 20 years as a lawyer I was bored. I wanted something new. Somewhere else. The crisis was an extra drive to escape Spain because life changed much over time. Here I can enjoy life the way I want. I have my restaurant, my house along the beach. I feel happy here because I can do whatever I want.”*⁵

With this quote Pablo is expressing his multiple motivation to migrate, on one hand with realizing his ‘dream career’ as a restaurant owner, on the other hand, with the desire to enjoy life abroad. What is interesting here is that the desire to have a new experience seems to be the primary reason for migration and the crisis was a secondary factor that served as an extra incentive for Pablo’s decision to migrate to Morocco.

Also Pedro, a 33-year old Spanish teacher, resembles the careerist – consumerist type of migrant: *“Since the end of college, one dream I had was working abroad, outside of Spain, and I was somehow always looking for this opportunity. When the crisis hit Spain and there was no work, and this opportunity to work here arose, I didn’t have to think twice. I like life here, it’s simple and easy going, people are friendly and seem happier compared to people in Europe. I like the fact that my time outside work is really my time. I spend my days fishing, talking to people, I often read a book on the square with the canons. I love it there, it’s a social meeting place. I just enjoy life and besides applying for jobs as a Spanish teacher in Morocco but also in other countries, I try not to think about the future too much. Because I know that it will take many years before the problems in Spain are solved.”*⁶

⁵ Interview with Pablo, a restaurant owner, on 19-05-2013

⁶ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, a teacher in Spanish language and literature, on 13-03-2013

During another conversation that I had with both Pedro and Roberto, the following remark was made by Pedro: *“Although we migrated to a country where the overall economy is lower compared to ours, you have to have priorities. Because what do you decide? To be more secure or...? These are all choices in life. But in the end the only thing that we search for is security. The only thing.”*⁷

Similarly for Pedro, the combination between a new experience abroad and the lack of opportunities on the labour market through the crisis in his country of origin, motivated him to migrate to Morocco. The intention to migrate was already there, and the crisis served as an extra incentive that pushed him into migration. Important to notice here is that before migrating, Pedro already had the security of a job in Tangier. The second quote clearly reflects the level of importance that he attaches to this security.

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - this type of migrant can be described as someone who on one hand decides to migrate to a country because of the interest to live in another culture, either in generality, or specifically through the interest in the people, the norms and values, and/ or the habits within the country of destination, and on the other hand is also looking for an experience abroad to enrich his own joy in life. Tony and Roberto both resemble this type of migrant.

Tony, a retired military with a pension of 800 euro per month, decided to migrate to Morocco having the following motivation: *“I could have chosen any part of the world because I have good relations anywhere around the world. But I decided to go to Morocco. Here I pay 1500 DH for rent. There is no other house with a more beautiful view than this one. Both on your right hand and your left hand the view is unaffordable. Such a studio in Spain would cost you 2000 euro per month. I chose Morocco as a country of residence because I can live like I want to live. I feel at home here, when I come back to the house late at night people on the street greet me. They all know me. People here behave with foreigners as if they are Tangerines. They welcome you and offer you friendship and treat you like you are one of them. I do not miss Spain. What can I do up there? When I go to Spain my friends cannot go out with me as before. They cannot go out to drink in a café like we did before. Most do not want me to smoke with them because they all quit smoking. Before we went to the restaurant in the evening. Every weekend we spent partying. Today they cannot do.”*⁸

Among all respondents, Tony is the only migrant who did not migrate to Morocco with the intention to enter the labour market as he retired three years ago. With a meagre pension of 800 euro a month Tony felt restricted in Spain. In Tony’s case the biggest advantage of living in Tangier is that

⁷ Conversation with Pedro and Roberto, on 20-04-2013

⁸ Interview with Tony, a retired military, on 26-03-2013

through the lower living expenses of Morocco, he is able to live how he desires. Through the conversations I had with Tony it became clear that he is an epicurean who seeks for the ability to live his desired life-style and has a great appreciation for the culture and the way of life in Morocco.

Roberto, a Spanish teacher who is currently unemployed, explains his motivations as follows: *“Before migrating here, I had two main motives to come to Morocco, one for work, because Morocco, England, America, they could all give me a job as a teacher. At least I thought. The other one is that I like to live abroad, to enjoy another life than the life I am used to in Spain. I have always looked for a situation in which I could leave Spain. But one does not look for a life outside Spain only for economic reasons, you also have the desire to live like you want. And I think that at the end you find it, wherever you are, at the end you find it. We are predestined to that, without looking for it. To find it is something really nice, you enjoy it a lot. You see, everything in life is based on decisions. And in general, people take the easy decision, and where are these easy decisions? At home, where it’s safe. But what is more interesting, to just go for the hard decision by leaving and see where you end up. It’s an adventure and I like it. I have been here since April 2012 and I have only been working for three months, 8 hours a week. This has finished a couple of months ago and now I should actively look for something else but to be honest I am not. I am just enjoying life here with my Moroccan friends and girlfriend and so far I can still live of the money I saved in the last 5 years in Spain, because if you want to, you can live very cheap here. And of course, there comes a point that this ends, but for now I am enjoying it. I am enjoying the unknown, the Moroccan culture, the friendliness, their weird habits like saying “Inshallah” to everything. And that’s what it’s about no, to just enjoy life.”⁹*

In Roberto’s case the motivation to migrate is different from the motivation to stay in Morocco. In the first place he came to find a job but through time this changed into the consumerist type of migrant who is just enjoying life abroad. He explains that the priority for him now is not necessarily to work but rather to enjoy life, and the inexpensive living in Morocco in combination with his saving gives him the opportunity to do so. Moreover, he is emphasizing his appreciation for the Moroccan culture and its’ people which resembles the community seeking type of migrant. Both Tony and Roberto are having the advantage of the lower living expenses within Morocco, which allow them to live the desired life-style. This profiting of lower living expenses gives an extra dimension to the consuming type of migration, in which a consumerist is seen as someone who attaches value to economic materialism (Brobeck, 1997).

⁹ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

THE FAMILY TYPE – this type of migrant can be described as someone who moves through family considerations. Both Anna and Saida resemble this type of migrant as their main motivation to migrate to Morocco is the household situation.

Anna, a 46-year old music teacher, delineated her migration motivation with the following: *“The only reason that I came here was to reunite the family, to be with my husband, because the family has to be together. Especially after having really bad years. Emotionally it was very heavy, first the crisis and the financial problems, then the separation. My daughter just wanted to be with her father so you have to make decisions.”*¹⁰

As to Saida, a 38-year old unemployed mother of three children: *“My husband is working in construction and when the crisis hit this sector, he could not find work anymore. He is Moroccan and has a big network here. Via, via he found a new job in Tangier and we went along with him. I moved to Morocco to support my husband and to give my three children a stable way of growing up.”*¹¹

These statements of Anna and Saida clearly illustrate that both of them can be considered as the ‘family type’ as their main motivation to migrate to Morocco is the household situation. In both cases family reunion was the highest priority, and the family gains, rather than personal gain, motivated migration of these respondents. Regarding the household situation, according to the human capital theory (Mincer, 1978), it is expected that having a spouse influence workplace mobility. For both respondents, this theory definitely holds. Two competing micro-economic theories, described in the theoretical framework, come up here. The neoclassical micro-economic theory of migration decision-making presumes that migration is an individual choice whereby the rational actor is motivated to move to maximize his or her own personal gains (Todaro 1976; Massey et al., 1994). In contrast, the new household economic theory places migration decisions within the context of the household and contends that the family well-being is at the centre of migration decision-making (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Massey et al., 1994). For both Anna and Saida their decision to migrate is based on the well-being for the household as a whole. Clearly, their decision to migrate depends on the household situation and is therefore in line with the latter theory. However, the influence of gender seems to be important here as well. Mincer’s (1978) human-capital model of family migration (an extension of the human capital theory of Sjaastad, 1962) provides a strong theoretical explanation on this. A key element of the human-capital model of family migration is the concept of the ‘tied mover’, a family migrant who, if single would not have chosen to migrate, and the ‘tied stayer’, a family non-migrant who, if single, would have chosen to migrate. The human-capital model of family migration

¹⁰ Interview with Anna Jimenez, a music teacher at the conservatorium in Tangier, on 10-05-2013

¹¹ Interview with Saida, a secretary, on 24-05-2013

concludes that women are more likely to be tied movers and that men are more likely to be tied stayers. This conclusion is based on the hypothesis that the actual and potential earning power is greater for men than for women. However, it is important to emphasize, the human-capital model argues that when wives have a higher actual and potential earning power than husbands, wives are more likely to be tied stayers and husbands are more likely to be tied movers. Thus, family migration decisions are considered to be *“entirely egalitarian, completely symmetrical, and based on the relative earning potentials of spouses”* (Cooke, 2003, p. 339).

When looking at the overall household situation of the respondents, there is a clear contrast in migrant-decision making between married and single-status migrants. As to the majority of the respondents, fifteen out of twenty migrants are unmarried or single and can be considered as individual migrants that would logically base their decision to migrate on what is best for their own future. During an interview careerist-community seeker Antonio delineates on the influence of his marital status related to migration: *“I divorced three years ago and started looking for a job abroad right afterwards. Being alone again gives you more freedom and opportunities for yourself. If I was still married to my ex-wife the situation would have been totally different. I might not even be here.”*

¹²

In the case of Antonio it can be expected that his marital status made the decision to migrate easier. From this perspective, the neoclassical microeconomic theory of migration would be more salient as Antonio moved to maximize his own personal gains. Various authors argue that individuals move more easily between jobs to increase their economic prospects. Moreover, individuals are not bound by location-dependent careers thereby exercising choice to move for other reasons (Stark, 1991).

5.3.1 STRUCTURAL FACTORS OF INFLUENCE IN MIGRATION TO MOROCCO

In the light of the structure-agency debate in which human behaviour is determined by external forces and the extent to which people exercise free will, it is a necessity to disentangle various influences and context, and therefore extend to consideration of structural factors (Veal, 2000). As far back as 1885, Ravenstein (1885, from Grigg, 1977) stated that *“the major causes of migration are economic”*. Even today, economic mobility is virtually synonymous with spatial mobility. This also applies to the crisis in Spain that is expected to be a general incentive for migration among the Spanish crisis-induced migrants in Morocco. As Portes (1978) states the movement of human populations have been throughout history a fundamental part of the major course of structural transformation. He argues that either in response to economic or political imperatives, voluntarily or

¹² Interview with Antonio, a real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013

forced, concerning complete nations or particular groups within them, the displacement of people through space has accompanied each major change of the social order. Therefore migration is almost coterminous with history. Clearly the consequences of the economic, political and social forces in society cannot be ignored since individuals are shaped by these forces in a fundamental way (Veal, 2000). As to this study, structural factors of influence on the migration decision-making process such as the economic and political situation in the country of origin and the accessibility of the country of destination, are likely to be intertwined with personal factors and can further explain the move of the individual to Morocco. Therefore, this section will address the structural factors of influence on the migration decision-making process, distinguished in structural influences in the country of origin and in the destination country. The former will give insight into the migrants' perspective on the economic and political situation in Spain before migrating, thereby elucidating the motivation to migrate, and the latter will focus on the accessibility of Tangier as the destination market in an attempt to explain the selection of the country of destination.

STRUCTURAL INFLUENCES ON OUT-MIGRATION FROM SPAIN TO MOROCCO

In this section there will firstly be looked upon the migrants' past, in this case, the migrants' perspective on the situation in Spain in retrospect, on economic and on political level, structural influences that push out-migration and can partly explain the move. This will be reflected in the comprehensive biographies of five respondents with each one of them representing a migrant typology to grasp the variety within this particular form of migration.

LOOKING BACK: THE MIGRANTS' PERSPECTIVE ON THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN RETROSPECT

It is important to cease considering migration as a discrete contemplative act but to acknowledge that the reasons for the move are in relation to the individual's past and to their predicted and projected future. Hence, a detailed migration exists *"as a part of our past, our present and our future; as part of our biography"* (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993, p. 337). Therefore, it seems vital to start with giving insight in the individual's past influenced by structural factors in the country of origin, beginning with the economic situation in Spain.

THE CAREERIST - Maryan, a project coordinator in an event agency, described the economic situation in Spain as follows: *"In my country, in the last one and half year, young people, between 20 and 40 years, are looking for a job abroad. For example, in Morocco there are Spanish that have jobs in nursing, in the kitchen, in call centres as telemarketers, because they say it's better to live with four or five thousand dirham than with nothing. Five hundred euro is better than nothing. And there are many who have mortgages. And this is the same as worldwide; they have to pay for their house and*

their food. The problem is that in Spain, I speak of Spain in the late eighties/ early nineties, people did not think that it would be necessary to leave their country to work. They want to live, to have a car, to have a home, to travel twice a year. The salary for people who worked within hospitality, for example the cooks, they made 2000 to 2700 euro, but they have left their jobs with a fixed contract to work in the construction because there they could make 4000 to 4500 euro. So it's worth it, no? And I've seen that, I've seen that. They have gone to the construction, all the people who had a good salary have gone to construction, and construction started to get dirty contracts, the other was black money, all black money. That is why Spain is like this now. All black money, money that has been earned in a few years, and people have been purchasing cars, houses, have been travelling, they have gotten into soaring mortgages because they couldn't afford them, they couldn't afford them. And now they have mortgages, cars that they cannot afford, and they don't have work because the construction sector in Spain has finished.”¹³

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - The 44-year old Remedios, a singer working in the hospitality sector in Tangier, shared her opinion on the economic situation in her country of origin: *“If this will take a few more years, we are going to reach the position of Greece, we will reach this situation. This has no way of one year or two years, no way. In a year or two years a country like this cannot be clarified! Who needs Spain now, if the only thing that is needed is work, work, work and there is nothing? If the construction is stopped, everything is halted. They have closed businesses of iron, brick, marble companies, companies of... all, construction moves a country, construction moves a country, if there is no building there? There is nothing. Construction moves a country in all senses. In all! If there is no construction, there is nothing. Unfortunately in Spain, everything has been construction and banks, which have had much guilt, because they... Let's see, it is not logical that you go to a bank and when I bought my house, I have been told, get a higher mortgage so you can buy a bit more, like a car, like a piece of furniture, or to decorate your house with. They offered you more, and now it does not give you anything.”¹⁴*

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - Pedro, a teacher in Spanish language and literature, commented on Spain's economic situation with the following: *“Back in Spain they have the most illogical system there is when it comes to paying taxes. The more you earn, the less income tax you pay. For example, with my salary I paid 21 percent of income tax. But the people with higher salaries that work within big international companies, they only have to pay income tax around 10 to 15 percent. In Spain everything is arranged in a way that the rich are getting richer and the poor getting poorer.”¹⁵*

¹³ Interview with Maryan Bernardi, co-owner and coordinator in event agency in Tangier, on 23-04-2013.

¹⁴ Interview with Remedios Cortes, a singer in the hotel branch, on 20-03-2013

¹⁵ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, a teacher in Spanish language and literature, on 13-03-2013

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER - CONSUMERIST - Also Roberto shares his worries about the economic situation of Spain: *“Spain’s economic problems seem to become chronic with deep-seated unemployment, a lot of enterprises with low productivity and a constriction in credit. This all is decreasing the purchasing power of the people and lets the economy shrink even more. They try to keep up with the deficit rules of the European Union and save drastically on everything, including education and healthcare. This is very bad for the citizens of Spain, very bad. Because it’s no more than a short-term solution.”*¹⁶

THE FAMILY SEEKER - Anna, mother and music teacher, shared her view on Spain’s economic situation with the following: *“In Spain they don't lower the wages, but they raise the income tax. In this way you have less purchasing power and the crisis only increases. This is very bad and the worst is that there is no solution. Maybe on short term there are improvements, but on the long term there isn't anything improving. I have the feeling that in Spain we went back thirty or forty years. The situation with the social laws, the discussion on abortion, on separated education. It's like your back in the time of Franco. There is a clear division between rich and poor. The children of the rich get to study, the children of the poor cannot. I am quite pessimistic, or actually, very pessimistic with the economic situation in Spain.”*¹⁷

SYNTHESIS - This set of snapshots touches upon the migrants’ visions on the general economic situation that they experienced in Spain before migrating to Morocco. All five of them give different examples but their opinions reflect a severe dissatisfaction towards the Spanish economic system. This level of discontent is reflected in the life stories of all respondents. All respondents agreed that it would take at least five years for Spain to recover from the crisis. Most of them hope that one day they can return to Spain but they all believe it will take a long time before the situation and especially the labour market will be stable again. This instability of the flow of income in the Spanish market caused a lack of faith around the possibilities that the respondents had in their country of origin. In keeping with this explanation, it is not unexpected that migratory pressures increase in times of crisis, when a collective lack of confidence occur (Ellerman, 2003; Li and McHale, 2009). Moreover, as Alonso (2011) states, the comparative degree of confidence on the future flow of income in the country origin and destination is also from influence on the decision to migrate. The more labile the market of origin and the more stable the possibility of progress in the destination market, the larger the migratory pressure as the stability of the destination market has an influence on the level of confidence of the future.

¹⁶ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

¹⁷ Interview with Anna Jimenez, a music teacher at the conservatorium in Tangier, on 10-05-2013

LOOKING BACK: THE MIGRANTS' PERSPECTIVE ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN RETROSPECT

As the crisis in Spain is not only an economic but also a political issue, this section will give insight in the individual's perspective on the political situation in Spain. Through my conversations with the migrants it became clear that there is a large discontent among the respondents, something that is reflected in all different types of migrants. The vignettes below clearly reveal the migrants' perception of Spain's political situation.

THE CAREERIST - An example that reflects the migrants' distrust in the government came from Maryan: *"In my opinion the crisis in Spain is mainly a political crisis, not an economical one, although the economic level in Spain is quite unfortunate, very unfortunate. At the political level I think we have a government of the worst there is. Personally, I would put all of them on the street because they are a group of inept people who cannot run a country."*¹⁸

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - During my interview with Remedios she commented on Spain's political situation with the following: *"Since I migrated the situation in Spain is the same as now, it's bad, very bad. It's a situation where we have to take care that we don't shoot everyone because this is the only solution we have left. It is the only option left, we commit suicide, because politicians are doing it very wrong. They are not taking care of the country, and I think this is a bad way, for this many people emigrating from Spain, many people, in many different places because people tend to fight for themselves. And the situation in Spain, you know how it is, it is evicting for all people with houses because they cannot pay their bills. Everything is broken down"*.¹⁹

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - A similar remark was made by Pedro: *"Spain is a mess, Spain is the shame of Europe, it's a country where not one political party or the other knows a solution for what is happening, and what is happening is that people do not have jobs, and what it entails, people lose their homes, people cannot eat, you lose it all, and those people will be forced to leave to make a living."*²⁰

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Also Roberto reflected his distrust in the Spanish political system: *"Spain at political level is a mix between dictatorship and democracy brought by the incorporation in Europe, by being included in the European Union. Then it is a disguised dictatorship*

¹⁸ Interview with Maryan Bernardi, a co-owner and coordinator in event agency in Tangier, on 23-04-2013.

¹⁹ Interview with Remedios Cortes, a singer in the hotel branch, on 20-03-2013

²⁰ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, a teacher in Spanish language and literature, on 13-03-2013

*that had to open up to other European democracies. Like Portugal or Greece. People say now: we are not in the left, we are not in the right, we are down, and this is the problem.*²¹

THE FAMILY SEEKER - When I asked Anna for her opinion on the political situation in Spain at the time she migrated, she commented with the following: *“When I left Spain the opposition were all socialists, and the people were not happy with the Socialists because the Socialists are very ignorant. They have all the power but don’t have a solution for the situation. And then there is another issue in Spain, the right has always been very strong within politics. And when the power is in the hands of the right it means that the boss has all the money, the boss is the bank. It’s a disguised democracy.”*²²

SYNTHESIS - Among all respondents there dominates a lack of faith in the Spanish government. They mistrust the political system within Spain mainly because of the involvement of the politicians within the banking sector and consider it to be non-transparent with some of them mentioning corruption. In keeping up with these comments, as Ellerman (2003) and Li and Machale (2009) explain, the increased levels of Spain’s out-migration, is not a surprising effect. When there is no confidence in the collective voice as a means of social progress, in the case of these migrants, emigration served as an escape valve for social crisis and a silent condemnation of the failure of collective response in Spain. This is in line with Hirschman’s (1977) statement on migration, who argues that the move comprises an utterance of individual exit when devotion to local institutions is disrupted and there is a lack of confidence around the potential of the expression of a collective voice to alter the society. The crisis-induced Spanish migrants try to overcome inequalities through personal initiatives: emigrating from a place with few opportunities to a destination offering more.

STRUCTURAL INFLUENCES ON IN-MIGRATION FROM SPAIN TO MOROCCO

A part of the migration process implicates the selection of a potential destination. The explanations why a migrant chooses one location over another gives additional insight into his or her perception of the current situation and what he or she hopes to gain by migration. These reasons are appointed to country-factors in Morocco that increase the accessibility for the crisis-induced Spanish migrant. When asking the respondents why they choose Morocco rather than another country in selecting the country of destination, it resulted in the following remarks:

THE CAREERIST - When asking Carmelo why he specifically selected Morocco as his country of destination he commented as follows: *“I had the intention to leave my country and there were*

²¹ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

²² Interview with Anna Jimenez, a music teacher at the conservatorium in Tangier, on 10-05-2013

various possible destinations to migrate to. I found one of the simplest, due to proximity and the fact I already knew Morocco because I visited the country before”.²³

Juan, a chef and restaurant owner in Tangier, explains his reason for the selection of Morocco with the following remark: *“One of the reasons I choose Tangier in specific is because most people speak Spanish here. In Casablanca or Marrakesh there are very few people who speak Spanish, but in the north, almost all. Who does not speak Spanish, understands Spanish. That’s why there are so many Spanish here too, because of the language. It’s a defect in our Spanish education system, there hasn’t been training in different languages, because we think, of course, it was the second most spoken language in the world.”²⁴*

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - Also for Antonio the easy accessibility was from importance in the selection of his country of destination: *“One of the reasons that I specifically went to Morocco, is because it is very near to Spain. This is a big advantage. I want to be able to visit my three children on a monthly basis. I go in and out. I visit Spain very regularly.”²⁵*

Another remark that was important in Antonio’s selection of the country of destination, was in relation to the linguistic ties: *“Another motivation to select Morocco is because they speak Spanish in the north and French in the south, the two languages that I master. It’s bilingual and also because of this it was very easy for me to find work here.”²⁶*

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - Pedro emphasized the easy accessibility with the following: *“An advantage of Morocco for me is that when necessary I can easily travel back and forth between here and there. I took my car from Spain and drove here so I can take my car and drive back to Spain whenever I want.”²⁷*

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Tony elaborated as follows when asking him why in specific he migrated to Morocco: *“I chose Morocco as a country of residence because it’s so close to Spain. I don’t have the financial resources now to move far away from Spain. I wouldn’t be able to travel back and forth and I still want to see my family and friends once in a while.”²⁸*

²³ Interview with Carmelo Holguera, a crisis-induced Spanish migrant that is civil engineer, on 20-04-2013

²⁴ Interview with Juan Carlos, restaurant owner and cook in Tangier, on 23-03-2013

²⁵ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte on 18-05-2013

²⁶ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, a real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013

²⁷ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, a teacher in Spanish language and literature, on 13-03-2013

²⁸ Interview with Tony, a retired military, on 26-03-2013

THE FAMILY TYPE - When looking at the accessibility of the country of destination, it is not only the geographical proximity that matters but also the influence of existing networks should not be neglected. Saida reflected the importance of having a network in the selection of the country of destination with the following vignette: *“My husband is working in construction and when the crisis hit this sector, he could not find work anymore. He is Moroccan and has a big network here. Via, via he found a new job in Tangier and we went along with him.”*

SYNTHESIS - The most frequently-cited reasoning to the question “Why did you choose Morocco rather than some other country?” was related to the easy accessibility through the geographical proximity between Spain and North-Morocco, although this was no prominent reason for emigrating in the first place. This partly has to do with the decrease in investments in terms of migration compared to a country at a greater distance, something that is in line with existing theories on the influence of the distance of the job on migration (Sjaastad, 1962), and the fact that almost sixty percent of international migration occurs between countries belonging to the same region (Parsons et al., 2007). Worthwhile mentioning here is that the geographical proximity between Morocco and Spain is also of big importance to the migrants because they have the desire and the need to travel to Spain on a regular base. As can be seen in the description of the socio-cultural practices in chapter six, most of the respondents visit Spain at least once in two or three months and some of the migrants even go once a month.

Furthermore, the linguistic ties between Spain and Morocco, are of great importance in the selection of Morocco as the country of destination for the crisis-induced migrants. As Massey et al. (1994) state the expenses of transport and settlement in the destination country can be considerably reduced by the presence of linguistic ties between the communities of origin and the communities of destination. The careerist Juan and the careerist – community seeker Antonio explicitly mentioned the linguistic advantage in connection with their motivations. Both of the migrants’ reflect on their decision to migrate to Morocco linking it with the language. It can be assumed that the wish for migration was already there but the existing linguistic ties influenced the choice to migrate to Morocco or Tangier in specific, as the mastery the migrant has of the language allows the migrant to integrate in the labour market and the social environment more rapidly, and with lesser expenses (Alonso, 2011). In line with previous studies, although for some of the respondents the accessibility and the linguistic ties was of significance in selecting the country of destination, it did not appear to be of importance in actually making the decision to migrate. In other words, these country-factors give a direction to migration instead of determining if migration will occur.

Also, having a network seems to influence the selection of the country of destination as the presence of a network can also considerably reduce migration expenses and risk levels (Massey et al., 1994). For Saida, it can be assumed that having a Moroccan husband, was also from influence in migrating to Morocco, as she explains that her spouse already had a network in the country of destination before migrating.

CONCLUSION

A general conclusion from the previous section is that the acknowledgement of migration as a socially embedded event with the recognition migrants' multiple motivation should be recognised, is from high importance. Despite the diverse pallet of migrants with differences in age, family situation, educational and occupational backgrounds, it was possible to categorize the migrants based on their multiple motivations, by utilizing an adjusted design of Bell's typology in which the twenty respondents of this study are divided in *'the careerist'*, *'the careerist – community seeker'*, *'the careerist – consumerist'*, *'the community seeker – consumerist'* and *'the family type'*.

Although the migrants' motivations differ strongly from migrating with a focus on the prosperity of their career, migration through identification with another country and its culture, because of the desire to enjoy the experience abroad, exclusively out of family considerations, or a combination between this, through all respondents' biographies, the crisis is an incentive for the actual move. Either from primary importance or for secondary reasoning, the economic and political situation in Spain is interwoven in every migration motivation and serves like the leitmotiv through the migrant's life stories, which justifies the term 'crisis-induced' migration. However, this motive does not explain individual behaviour because if such factors affect everyone, why do only some move? Further explanation is needed and achieved through utilizing the five typologies mentioned before. Within the careerist type of migrant it becomes clear that the primary motivation of migration is the development of the career, either financially, by international experience, or a higher occupation. Almost half of the respondents in this study (nine out of twenty) can be considered as careerists. For the careerists, the decision to migrate is based on the lack of opportunities within their career. Migration serves as an opportunity to gain international experience to establish a stronger position on the labour market and to have more security and stability within their career. As for the careerist – community seeker type of migrants (five out of twenty) there is a strive to develop their career but also the interest to live in another culture. The careerist – community seeker is reflecting the need for economic opportunities outside Spain as the crisis affected the sector in which they operate in such a way they could not wait for progress. Moreover, these migrants are seeking new experiences, new cultures and new opportunities abroad to explore the world outside Spain and the interest in the country of destination serves as an extra motivation for migration to Morocco. The careerist –

consumerist type of migrant (two out of twenty) seeks to develop his or her career to the desired level, and to enrich the joy of life with the experience abroad. The community seeker – consumerist type of migrant (two out of twenty) can be described as someone who on one hand decides to migrate to a country because of the interest to live in another culture and on the other hand is seeking for an experience abroad to enrich his own joy in life. In the cases of both community seekers – consumerists the lower living expenses in Morocco served as an extra incentive for migration. For the family type of migrant (two out of twenty) the highest priority is family gains rather than personal gains, and migration occurs through family reunion. In the family seeking type of migrant the motivation for migration is clearly illustrating that the household situation is the main priority and migration took place out of considerations for family reunion. However, in these motivations the crisis is again interwoven in the migration-decision making process, as part of their family, namely their spouses, migrated through the lack of opportunities in their careers in Spain.

Thus, even within social dimensions such as family reunion, the crisis remains an incentive throughout the process of migration. It must be clear by now that structural factors such as the economic and political situation in Spain in this time of crisis cannot be disentangled from personal motivations as in every situation these influences are intertwined within decision-making. Migration flows can only be interpreted by the interplay of choices and decisions of individual migrants which are nested in the amalgamation of structural and personal factors. It is therefore necessary to emphasize the ways in which individual actors, structural factors, organisations and societies fit together.

To conclude, as appeared in this chapter, the crisis-induced migrants have a reflexive ability to justify their thoughts and actions, which is determined by economic, political, social, cultural and historical backgrounds, but its' formation is different with each individual. This has to do with the migrants' standard of life, personal enrichment, ideologies and the purpose in life. Socio-demographic factors such as education, gender, age and family status influence this, but also other factors outside the family circle play a significant role in the development of personal feeling and decision-making (Ortner, 2005).

6. THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE: MIGRANTS' PRACTICES AND IDENTIFICATIONS THROUGH A TRANSNATIONAL LENS

The majority of the literature on migrant transnationalism concentrates on the ways that specific socio-cultural institutions have been diversified in the course of being stretched across the globe. However, the practices of transmigrants are involved in more deep-rooted patterns of structural transformation (Vertovec, 2004). Transmigrants are not temporary residents as they settle and become incorporated in the economy and political institutions, localities, and patterns of daily life in the country in which they live, and at the same time, engage in practices in the country of origin by maintaining connections, building institutions, conducting transactions and influencing local and national events (Glick-Schiller et al., 1994). As Luis Guarnizo (2003, p. 669) prompts, *"Everyday transnational practices are not neatly compartmentalized, and nor are their consequences."* According to different authors including Vertovec (2004), processes and practices of migrant transnationalism that can lead to broader transformations take place on different scales in at least three domains of human activity, which are considered to be the migrants' individual orientation, the fundamental political frameworks, and the integral processes of economic development.

Despite the transnational orientation of this chapter, we must not forget the local reality of the migrant in his or her country of origin and residence. That said, this chapter will give insight into the 'local' practices in everyday life in the economic, political and socio-cultural spheres of the crisis-induced Spanish migrant. The division of transnational practices, considered being economic, political, and socio-cultural practices, and the migrants' transnational identifications structure this chapter. The first section will start by giving insight into the former practices in the country of origin to give an impression on the migrants' life in Spain before migrating to Morocco. Like Roseman (1971) states it is essential to considerate migration histories as a means of accounting for the influence of moves in time and space. This is in line with the biographical approach utilized in this study that explains migrations in the framework of people's life courses rather than simply looking at migrants' decision-making just before departure. As this study aims to give a bifocal view on the migrants' lives here-and-there, it is essential to include the migrants' practices before his or her resettlement to grasp the continuity and change within the migrants' practices. It will continue with the current practices of the migrant in the country of residence, Morocco. From the local realities as a starting point, this chapter will continue with the transnational dimension of the migrants' practices. It will do so by giving an enhanced 'bifocality' of outlooks underpinning migrant lives lived here-and-there by looking through a transnational lens to the practices performed by the crisis-induced Spanish migrants, and their transnational identifications, to study with whom the

respondents identify, in the host-country as well as the country of origin. This dual orientation is from high importance as the influence of a transnational life is considerable and may continue to affect the practices and identities of the migrant.

To keep consistency and emphasis on the respondents' multiplicity, the migrants' practices will be reflected in the same typology as utilized in chapter five, using five comprehensive migrant biographies with each respondent representing one of the five typologies. The majority of the respondents interviewed for this research are discussed, with each of them representing one typologies. This is done with the same reason: through their different economic, political and social backgrounds, and distinct characteristics and aspirations for migration this palette of respondents reflects the multiplicity within migrant groups, that is necessary to understand the migration experience.

6.1 ECONOMIC PRACTICES

To grasp the economic practices of the migrant during the migrants' life here-and-there, this section will start to give insight into migrants' former economic practices in the country of origin, continuing with the current practices in the host country.

6.1.1 LOOKING BACK: THE MIGRANTS' ECONOMIC PRACTICES IN RETROSPECT

THE CAREERIST - The 39-year old Maryan, a co-owner and project coordinator in an event agency based in Tangier, reflects on her former economic practices in the country of origin: *"When I finished at the art academy I couldn't find a job in this sector so I started working in administration within the trading world. In 2007 Maria and I decided to open up an event agency, one year before the crisis hit Spain. The first years we only focussed on events in and around Malaga. When the economy began to decrease we looked for possibilities overseas in Morocco. After one year of travelling back and forth and trading relations between Spain and Morocco we decided to migrate to Morocco and start our business over here."*²⁹

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - Antonio, a 42-year old project manager in real estate, tells about his economic practices in Spain before he migrated to Morocco: *"For 15 years I have been working in the real estate sector that was mainly involved in the hotel-sector as a project manager in residential buildings, counselling, everything related to hotels and tourism. One year in Fuertaventura, one year in Gran Canaria and thirteen years in Lanzarote. The first seven years making hotels for a big construction company, after that I switched to big projects, residential projects, resorts and hotels and I did that for 6 years. And two years I worked both as a freelance*

²⁹ Interview with Maryan Bernardi, co-owner and coordinator in event agency in Tangier, on 23-04-2013.

project manager and as a teacher for a foundation that works for the construction sector called “La Asociacion de laboral de construcion. It’s not state dependent but state-supported or sponsored formed by the labor union. It’s a foundation mainly there to be able to develop the construction sector by making investigations, sharing knowledge. It’s supported through money of the European Union, from the wages of the workers, the salaries. Here I was a teacher in the security, the structure, everything which is basic to grow in the career in the construction sector to the workers who were members of this association. I worked there for three years. And then the crisis hit and everything in the construction sector halted. I did a lot of thinking trying to see if I could switch to another sector, maybe telecommunication, because I knew something about programming. But I never materialized. It’s very difficult to make a switch to another position.”³⁰

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - The 33-year old Pedro, working as a teacher in the Spanish language and literature in a private institute in Tangier, gives insight into his economic practices in Spain with the following: *“After finishing my study philology I started working as a teacher. In the beginning I was terrified. For years I had been the student and now I was the one that had to teach the students. I worked in teaching for seven years in Spain within different institutes, public as well as private. The last year my contract was not extended and I couldn’t find a job anywhere else. From September until December I didn’t have a job. For these four months I worked in the house of my family, they have a grape farm. My father is retired but he has a meagre pension. It was not sufficient for the money but only for my state of being.”³¹*

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Roberto, a 31-year old unemployed teacher in Spanish and history, grasps his former economic practices: *“After I finished my bachelor in Social Science and my master in history I started working as a history teacher. I did this for three years. Then I went to France for a year and worked as a teacher within a primary school. I came back to Spain after this year and couldn’t find a job as a history teacher. The demand for Spanish teachers was the highest so I started working as an assistant in Spanish conversation classes to become a teacher in the Spanish language. I did this for one year but I never got the opportunity to teach Spanish in Spain because one year later the crisis hit Spain. And because of the little experience I have, there was nothing for me.”³²*

THE FAMILY TYPE - The 46-year old Anna, who came to Morocco to reunite the family, described her economic practices in Spain as follows: *“I worked at an insurance agency, then I stopped because I had my daughter, and after a few years I started working as an administrative assistant on part-time base. Until my husband left to Morocco. He was working in the construction sector in Spain and*

³⁰ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013.

³¹ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

³² Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

couldn't find work anymore, there was nothing to do for him. He left one year before we did. He was in Morocco and my daughter and I were in Spain. We lived in Catalonia, far away from him. The trips were very expensive, so we couldn't see him a lot. We were not doing well because the family was falling apart. And then my daughter and I decided to come here."³³

6.1.2 THE ECONOMIC PRACTICES IN MOROCCO

THE CAREERIST - When asking Maryan about her current economic practices she shared the following: *"My work here? I am a project coordinator within our event agency MD Management. I run this agency together with Maria. Our division in tasks is roughly like this: she does everything around communication, I do everything around planning and finances. Together we organize events, mainly in Tangier at this point because in Spain there is not much to do now. We are being hired by restaurants, hotels, and companies to organize events but we also have our own events, like the Flamenco festival. For many events we get the musicians from Spain."*³⁴

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - Antonio elaborated on this current economic practices as follows: *"Here in Tangier I am not a project manager but I start working before the project begins, to make the research if it's feasible, when the project starts we make a supervision of the project, when the project is finished, we select the construction company that is going to do the work, when they start working we supervise the construction company, when the construction is finished, we supervise the licenses, the agreements, the whole process. And afterwards, if the building is 'working' without any problems, we go."*³⁵

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - Pedro's current economic practices in Morocco: *"Here in Tangier I work as a Spanish teacher in literature and language at a private institute, Instituto Espanol. In teaching your working hours here are officially 40 hours but in practice you only work thirty-five. I start at 8 o'clock in the morning and at 2 or 3 o'clock I am done for the day. In contrast to most teachers here I don't have a fixed contract. I got employed in January and my contract will finish at the end of August. There is some discrimination going on in the level of salary. The people who work here with a fixed contract earn around the ridiculous amount of seven thousand euro a month but the people who work here without a fixed contract, like me, only get two thousand euro a month."*³⁶

³³ Interview with Anna Jimenez, music teacher, on 10-05-2013

³⁴ Interview with Maryan Bernardi, co-owner and coordinator in event agency in Tangier, on 23-04-2013

³⁵ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013.

³⁶ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Roberto illustrating his current economic practices: *“I have been here since April 2012 and I have only been working for three months, 8 hours a week. I worked as a Spanish teacher within Instituto Cervantes and my job there was to give the children history lessons. This has finished a couple of months ago and now I should actively look for something else but to be honest I am not. So far I can still live of the money I saved in the last five years in Spain, because if you want to, you can live very cheap here. And of course, there comes a point that this ends, but for now I am enjoying it.”*³⁷

THE FAMILY TYPE - When asking Anna for her current economic practices, she elucidates with the following: *“I am working as a music teacher in the conservatorium on a part-time base. I work three evenings a week so about 10 hours in total. It’s a special group of Spanish school children that I teach. Next to that, some of the mothers of the children, come to my house and I give them piano lessons. But my job is complementary. My husband works fifty hours a week within construction so he brings in the biggest part of the money.”*³⁸

SYNTHESIS - When looking at the former and current economic practices, there are clear patterns of continuity and change. The careerist, the careerist – community seeker and the careerist-consumerist, thus the three categories where the career is considered to be an important drive for migration, are operating in the same sector as they did in Spain before migration. When linking this to their motivations for migration, reflected in the former chapter, it highlights the importance of the development of the career within their lives. The community seeker – consumerist and the family type, the two typologies where there is no career motivation involved in the migration, are both active in something else. For both the necessity to work is not as high as for the other migrants. In the cases of Anna and Roberto this is clearly reflected with the part time job of Anna as a music teacher is financially complementary within her family, and with Roberto living of his savings.

6.2 POLITICAL PRACTICES

This section will give insight into the political practices and involvement in everyday life of the crisis-induced Spanish migrant. To view the migrants’ life here-and-there, it will start with the migrants’ retrospective political practices in Spain, and will continue with their current political involvement and practices in Morocco.

³⁷ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

³⁸ Interview with Anna Jimenez, music teacher, on 10-05-2013

6.2.1 LOOKING BACK: THE POLITICAL PRACTICES AND INVOLVEMENT IN RETROSPECT

THE CAREERIST - When asking Maryan for her political involvement in Spain before migration, she commented with the following: *“As I told you before I totally disagree with the political system in Spain. So why should I vote? To support something that is wrong? No, I have my own ideology and the ideology of Spanish politics is far from my ideology.”*³⁹

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - Antonio describing his political involvement in his country of origin before migrating to Morocco: *“Of course I voted when I lived in Spain. But I am, as you call it, a swing voter. I never voted for one particular party. It’s undecided what I will vote until the elections are coming and I know what the program of the parties will be. Depending on what is best for me, I vote.”*⁴⁰

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - When asking Pedro about his involvement in politics in Spain, he reacted as follows: *“I don’t care about politics. Because all of this I think is a fucking lie. Of course in history I voted but not for following any political ideology. In Spain the alternative you have is not an alternative for me. You have two big parties, the rest are small ones, the last time I voted, I voted for one of them, namely “Izquierda Unida”. But I don’t totally agree with their program so I prefer to not vote than to vote for something that I disagree with.”*⁴¹

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Roberto: *“Back in Spain I was actively involved in a political platform in which a lot of people come together to get something done, like a pension, like healthcare. It makes me feel good to try to do something about it. Because if you speak with the people about their problems you can change their thinking. And I can be an idealist because I can still eat, but if you can’t eat it’s difficult to be idealistic because all that you think of is surviving.”*⁴²

THE FAMILY TYPE - Anna expresses: *“I always voted for something against the powerful. Against the conservative, against the socialist, against the right. My vote went to smaller parties, mainly at the left. But at the end, it doesn’t help a thing. These parties are too small to have a voice. The power is always in hands of one or two big parties and the rest is lost.”*⁴³

³⁹ Interview with Maryan Bernardi, co-owner and coordinator in event agency in Tangier, on 23-04-2013.

⁴⁰ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013.

⁴¹ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

⁴² Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

⁴³ Interview with Anna Jimenez, music teacher, on 10-05-2013

6.2.2 THE POLITICAL PRACTICES AND INVOLVEMENT IN MOROCCO

THE CAREERIST - Maryan described her political practices and involvement in Morocco as follows: *“I am in contact with politics in Morocco through my work. Having a company means that you have to be involved in things that are related to politics. But I don’t take political commitments here. I don’t vote because I disagree with the influence that religion has within politics.”*⁴⁴

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - When asking Antonio for his political involvement in Morocco, he commented with the following: *“I cannot vote here but of course I have my opinion on the Moroccan political system. I think they are going the right way. The King is doing a lot of things in the right way trying to let the country develop itself. But on the other side you still see things that are still very old fashioned or traditional. I remember a year ago or something, there was a journalist, and he talked about the sexual liberty of the women here. That the women here don’t have sexual liberty. And then other people reacted with “But if you ask for the sexual liberty of the women, you ask for the sexual liberty of your mother, and the sexual liberty of your wife and your daughter”. And he reacted with: “Of course, of course... Every woman.” And afterwards there were a lot of people saying that this man had to be in jail. To find this situation still in Morocco nowadays is shocking. The religion here is still very interwoven with everything, the political system, the normal way of life. But the king has the power to change that. And I think he is doing that now. He is modernizing things here. His wife opened a big fashion-mall in Casablanca. All by herself. And I feel that within one or two generations we’ll see a more modern Morocco. I read a phrase of Hassan II. I like it a lot and I use it a lot during meetings to show people that I give importance to Morocco and their culture. The former King said that Morocco is a country whose roots are in Africa but whose leaves are moved by the wind of Europe. It’s a very poetical sentence but it depicts very well what the situation is in Morocco. And I take the idea in mind to not forget Africa, this is very important, but be open to other things and other cultures, adapt things from Europe. Of course, not everything from Europe is good but there are a lot of things that have to change here. Step by step.....”*⁴⁵

THE CAREERIST - CONSUMERIST – Pedro commented as follows when asking him about his political practices and involvement in Morocco: *“I cannot vote here in Morocco because I only have a Spanish passport, I don’t have a resident card. And besides that, I don’t want to vote because I don’t know for how long I will be here. If I was here for a long time, yes, I would like to be able to vote, but now I do not mind.”*⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Interview with Maryan Bernardi, co-owner and coordinator in an event agency in Tangier, on 23-04-2013.

⁴⁵ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013.

⁴⁶ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - When talking about Morocco's politics, Roberto commented with the following: *"Of course I read and have conversations about the political situation in Morocco but I am not involved in politics over here because there is even less liberty than in Spain, because there are more inequalities than in Spain. Although in Spain now this is growing rapidly. But Morocco is a very religious country, you can't say anything against God."*⁴⁷

THE FAMILY TYPE - When asking Anna for her opinion on the political involvement in Morocco, she shared the following: *"The democratic culture in Morocco is very limited. For this I don't take political commitments here. Although I can vote because of my residence card, I wouldn't know what to vote here so I do not vote. Here you see, that at the bottom it is an oligarchy, it is not a dictatorship, but an oligarchy where there are only a few that have all the power. To me what shocks me most in Morocco, is the religion that dominates everything: social life, family life, economic life, political life, everything. As they are absolute fanatics, fundamentalists, you cannot talk with them about religion, it is an absolute taboo. For example, I am an absolute agnostic, not to say atheist, I don't believe in God. They don't understand this position, you cannot talk with them about this, they see you as subject, and this annoys me and makes me mad. To vote here is another story. For example, one day before the reform of the constitution, I asked my cleaning lady Miriem if she was going to vote. She looked at me if I was speaking Chinese. She didn't know that she could vote."*⁴⁸

SYNTHESIS - In an attempt to explain why people do or do not involve in politics in the country of residence, Milbrath and Goel (1977) provide us with four situations that afford considerable scope on behalf of individual motivations for political involvement. They suggest that the political involvement of migrants within the country of residence could be constrained through: *"1. Situations where reference groups have politically conflicting points of view, 2. Situations at the focus of conflicting propaganda, 3. Current situations which for any individual are in conflict with previous experience, 4. Situations where social roles are ambiguous, strange and unfamiliar."* (Milbrath and Goel, 1977, p. 74) In respect to the respondents within this study, it appears that the majority of the respondents are not involved within politics in the country of residence, as reflected in the above vignettes. Frequently uttered comments within the media on the non-involvement of migrants in politics include "They do not care!" or "They turn their back on powers" (Adamson, 2006). Admittedly, there are naturally immigrants who only make use of the system and politics for them never enters the picture. However, the majority of the respondents in this research hold valid and justifiable reasons for their behaviour. Hence, what might seem as a mere lack of interest, is at a closer look, in fact an

⁴⁷ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

⁴⁸ Interview with Anna Jimenez, music teacher, on 10-05-2013

understandable consequence of the politically conflicting points of view, earlier experiences or simply for the reason that they don't have the power to vote because their type of citizenship does not allow them. As to the first point of Milbrath and Goel (1977), the anti-democratic structure is a major cause for the non-involvement within politics of the immigrants. As Maryan, Antonio, Roberto, and Anna state, the political situation in the host country is so different from their country of origin that it is difficult to engage in this. According to these respondents the political system is anti-democratic, dominated by the Islamic religion, oligarchic and saturated with inequalities.

When it comes to voting, there are no political commitments in the host country amongst all respondents. This can partly be explained through the fact that most of the respondents do not have a Moroccan residence card, and therefore do not have the right to vote. The majority of the respondents does not have a residence card as they do not see the benefits in this. This can partly be explained through different factors such as the fact that a visa to enter Morocco is not a requirement for a Spaniard for a stay of maximum three months. To renew their stay, they only need to step on Spanish soil, which includes the Spanish enclaves - Ceuta and Melilla – in Morocco, while on the other hand, Moroccans are obliged to have a visa to legally enter Spain. Moreover, tax-wise it can be more beneficial to not have the Moroccan residence card, as the salary of employers that work for Spanish companies is free of taxes through an agreement between Morocco and Spain (Spanish Embassy, 2013).

The fact that these migrants are living in Morocco no longer than three years, might also be from influence, as reflected in Pedro's statement. Moreover, during the conversations held it became clear that the majority of the migrants have the desire to return to their country of origin, and thus are automatically less involved in the political situation of their country of residence. However, in Maryan's case this does not hold as her career automatically involves her with politics in Morocco.

Still, one element is missing. Within many literature on the political participation of migrants is stated that political participation is impossible with an insufficient knowledge of the native language (Adamson, 2006). However, the problem of language is not stated as an argument for the non-involvement in politics among any of the respondents. In this case language seems secondary as the fundamental problem is the overall non-identification that is strongly represented amongst the respondents. When there is no identification with the political system in the country of origin, the problem of language can be considered as a negligible factor when it comes to the migrants' involvement. As to the different typologies, there is no clear distinction between the level of political involvement when comparing one typology to another. As mentioned before, the non-involvement within politics lays within the lack of identification with the political system in the country of residence, which is present amongst all respondents, regardless the type of migrant.

6.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES

This section will give insight into the socio-cultural practices in everyday life of the crisis-induced Spanish migrant. It will start with the migrants' retrospective socio-cultural practices in Spain, and will continue with their current socio-cultural practices in Morocco.

6.3.1 LOOKING BACK: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES IN RETROSPECT

THE CAREERIST - Maryan speaks about her social life in relation to her company: *"The social level has dropped considerably, to the persons who has a superior economy, are afraid to invest. Everyone became afraid including myself. When you have your own business and you don't have work, it makes you very worried. This anxiety is reflected in social life. People do not spend money like they did before and shops, restaurants, bars and even streets are more empty than ever before."*⁴⁹

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - Antonio commenting on the socio-cultural situation in Spain before he migrated to Morocco: *"Many people of the Canarias were used to travel a lot because they lived on an Island. They are used to go out to refresh themselves and with the crisis they had to stay there. The streets were.... Boring is not the word... The streets were sad, they were sad. If you tried to have a beer you would find three people in the bar where you were used to find a full bar. And you saw that people had to adjust the expenses. They were either afraid to spend their money or they were just not able to spend their money."*⁵⁰

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - The description of Pedro's view on the social life in Spain reads: *"The last two years the social situation in Spain has been fatal. This evening I read that five hundred thousand families in Spain are living in poverty. It is very worrying, especially because there are no solutions out there. This poverty you can recognize on the streets. People are worried, in every conversation you have the word 'crisis' is mentioned. The careless happiness that the Mediterranean are so well-known for is disappearing and you notice this everywhere. For myself for example, when the summer arrives, I went for holidays two or three times for 2 or 3 weeks, and in winter as well. But now I only go on holidays once a year. We save the money because we are scared, we don't know what will happen."*⁵¹

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Roberto comments on the social situation of Spain with the following: *"Socially seen Spain is deteriorating, especially in education and health. More and*

⁴⁹ Interview with Maryan Bernardi, co-owner and coordinator in an event agency in Tangier, on 23-04-2013

⁵⁰ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013.

⁵¹ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

more people seek help, more and more people migrate for these reasons. Because Spain cannot offer them what is necessary in life, the security of a job and thus the social security.”⁵²

THE FAMILY TYPE - Anna comments on Spain’s social situation reflected on her social life in Spain just before migrating: *“My last year in Spain was very bad because my husband was working here since 2010. I was alone with my daughter and everything was becoming too expensive to live. At that time we still had two houses and this caused a lot of stress as well. But it is the family that has to be together, especially in bad times. Emotionally it was very heavy to be separate, my daughter wanted to be with her father. I wanted to be with my husband.”*⁵³

6.3.2 THE CURRENT SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES IN MOROCCO

THE CAREERIST – When talking about the socio-cultural practices in the everyday life of Maryan, she expressed with: *“Most people that I meet within social life are involved in my work as well. There are some Moroccan but most of them are Spanish. I work in the event sector so work and social life intertwine. And as business is going well I have a busy social life here. I enjoy it very much.”*⁵⁴

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER – Antonio shared the following on socio-cultural practices in Morocco: *“I have friends scattered around the world. I have friends in the UK, friends in Boston, Los Angeles, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Congo, Gabon, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and in Morocco. In fact, last weekend I was in Marrakech to see some friends. I like to meet up with friends during the weekend. I encountered a school friend from Madrid in Casablanca. He was from Congo and he is working as a project manager in Casablanca right now and he lives there for one year. In Spain there are some friends but few. Because many of them migrated as well. They are everywhere. Right now I am here and I am enjoying it very much but I wouldn’t mind to go somewhere else. Here, I have three books, two wallets, a musical key board, and that’s it. That’s my whole life. I take that everywhere.”*⁵⁵

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - When asking Pedro about his socio-cultural practices, he responded as follows: *“I like life here, it’s simple and easy going, people are friendly and seem happier compared to people in Europe. I like the fact that my time outside work is really my time. I spend my days fishing, talking to people, I often read a book on the square with the canons. I love it there, it’s a social meeting place. I just enjoy life and besides applying for jobs as a Spanish teacher in Morocco but also in other countries, I try not to think about the future too much.”*⁵⁶

⁵² Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

⁵³ Interview with Anna Jimenez, music teacher, on 10-05-2013

⁵⁴ Interview with Maryan Bernardi, co-owner and coordinator in an event agency in Tangier, on 23-04-2013

⁵⁵ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013

⁵⁶ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST – Roberto shares the following as regards to socio-cultural practices: *“Especially the fact that everything is different here within social and cultural life is something that I really like. Yeah, it’s funny, I like it! Because it’s another kind of thinking. When you become older, you get less adventurous, you want to have a home. But now I want to make use of this moment in which I want to explore how other people think.”*⁵⁷

THE FAMILY TYPE – When asking Anna about her socio-cultural practices she expressed with: *“My first few months here were very bad because my husband was working all day and my daughter was in school all day. And I was home alone. The only people I knew were people that I met in the flea market, or when I went to the souk. But you have no way of relating with them. I think in general it is very difficult to establish friendship with Moroccan, simply because they are very different. Especially with the women it’s difficult to connect because you never see them. But the longer I have been here, the more I do for myself. I lack many things but I do have the quality of life, I have good people around me, I do many things, perhaps more than I did in Spain.”*⁵⁸

SYNTHESIS - As to the socio-cultural practices of the migrants’ life in the country of origin for migration and in the country of destination it becomes clear that amongst all respondents, regardless of the type of migrant, there is some sense of progress in social life since they migrated to Morocco. This considerably deteriorated within their lives in Spain since the crisis whereas people became afraid or were not able to spend money. In Morocco the majority of the respondents have the feeling that social life increased which for some has to do with the financial resources that they possess now, for others because they experience the new and different lifestyle as an upgrade in their social life. However, there are some exceptions among the respondents with migrants that have difficulties with the severe differences in the socio-cultural life of Morocco compared to their country of origin. Anna highlights these differences through the difficulty of establishing friendships with inhabitants of her country or residence.

6.4 TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES

This section will highlight the transnational character of the practices performed by the crisis-induced Spanish migrants. It will do so by focussing on the analysis of the different local realities in the country of origin before migration, and in the country of residence after migration (section 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3) with making connections between the migrants’ lives here-and-there. According to Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002, p 768) *“transnational practices cover all spheres of social action”*. Nevertheless,

⁵⁷ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

⁵⁸ Interview with Anna Jimenez, music teacher, on 10-05-2013

in the literature scholars mostly distinguish between economic, political and social-cultural practices (Portes, 2001; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Snel et al., 2006). Therefore, the transnational practices are again divided into the three main dimensions of society: transnational economic practices, transnational political practices, and transnational socio-cultural practices.

6.4.1 TRANSNATIONAL ECONOMIC PRACTICES

In general, economic aspects of migrant transnationalism include numerous practices and diverse impacts. Some economic practices directly occupy migrants, such as transnational ethnic entrepreneurship or the facilitation of international trade, while others only indirectly engage migrants, especially spin-off industries responding to migrant transnational practices. Examples of other economic features of migrant transnationalism include government schemes to attract the migrants' foreign currency such as high interest foreign currency accounts, and tax exemptions for saving and investment. However, economically seen, by far the most transformative process of migrant transnationalism are remittances, which is the money migrants send to their relatives in the country of origin (Portes and De Wind, 2008). As to this study, the transnational economic practices are divided in financial economic practices and professional economic practices. The former includes everyday economic practices such as sending money or goods to the country of origin, home ownership or donations to charities in the country of origin, and the latter includes investments in, business dealings with, or business trips to the country of origin.

FINANCIAL ECONOMIC PRACTICES

To understand why migrants send money, it seems helpful to employ Brown's (2006, p. 62) distinction between '*altruistic*' and '*non-altruistic*' (or self-interested) motives. In general, remittances transmitted on altruistic grounds tend to be spent on the relatives necessities of life, whereas non-altruistic remittances are invested in establishing a business, in land and so forth. In reality, naturally, migrants send money on both grounds, depending on their own situation and that of their families, their age and position, the degree of responsibilities back home, and their level of income in the country of residence. However, this distinction between altruistic and non-altruistic purposes of remittance-sending is a useful method in understanding the motives for remittances (Datta and Brickell, 2007).

THE CAREERIST - When asking the respondents if they supported their relatives financially, the careerist Andrez, a 51-year old truck driver within a Moroccan logistical company, commented as

follows: *"I cannot support people from my country, I can barely support myself. The wages in Morocco are very low, especially in the logistical sector."*⁵⁹

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - On the question if Antonio supports his country, he reacted with the following: *"I support my three children in Spain by sending them a fixed amount of money on a monthly base. This is spent on their education. Their mother and I are divorced so this amount can be considered as some sort of alimony."*⁶⁰

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - Pedro commented as follows when I asked him if he supported his relatives: *"Fortunately my family and friends are in such financial state that this is not necessary. If this ever changes, of course I will support them wherever I can."*⁶¹

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - On the question if Roberto financially supports the people in Spain, he answered with the following: *"I don't have a job myself at this point and I am living from my savings so financially seen I cannot be of a big support for the people in my country. But what I have always done and still do is supporting the charities by donating money every month. I do this with the cruz roja espanola (red cross). Besides that my money is in the Triodos Bank that invests in organisations that contribute to a sustainable society."*⁶²

THE FAMILY TYPE - Anna shared the following as to financial support to her country of origin: *"I have my family here and we are doing well. My mother in Spain has a good pension and the other people close to me are also fine. As for the rest, they wouldn't even accept our money. Many people criticised us behind our backs for going to Morocco. They didn't understand why we made the decision to work and live in Morocco, with "those Moors". That we were taking our daughter to a country like this, like it is one big dessert! And these people I call ignorant and racist."*⁶³

SYNTHESIS - Regardless the type of migrant, everyday economic practices such as sending money to the country of origin, home ownership or donations to charities in the country of origin occur relatively little among the respondents. On one hand because the Spaniards living in the migrants' country of origin do not rely on the support of their overseas relatives and on the other hand, because the wages in Morocco are averagely lower than in Spain whereby the migrants don't have the capacity to send money or goods to the country of origin. Worthwhile to mention here is that Andrez is among the respondents with the least labour market positions. It seems that migrants with

⁵⁹ Interview with Andrez, a truck driver within a logistical company in Tangier, on 20-04-2013

⁶⁰ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, a project manager in real estate, on 18-05-2013.

⁶¹ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

⁶² Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

⁶³ Interview with Anna Jimenez, music teacher, on 10-05-2013

the least labour market positions participate least in these practices. Assuming that it works the other way around as well, this is in line with the aforementioned 'altruism' in which the migrants concern about the relatives in the home country. Within the altruistic model the migrant gets fulfilment from the welfare of his/ her relatives. It states that the amount of remittances should increase with the migrants' income. This statement was supported by empirical evidence from a study in Botswana that demonstrated a one percent increase in the migrant's wage induced increases in remittances ranging from 0.25 percent at low wage levels to 0.73 percent at high wage levels (Sopemi, 2006). However, Roberto on the other hand, currently receives no income, but he is involved in sending altruistic remittances to the country of origin by donating to a charity. As Stark (1991) points out, there is no general theory of remittances that is plausible enough to employ. The studies that analyse this particular phenomenon offer practical descriptive evidence from empirical research but only explain the remittance flow to a certain degree as they are characterized by geographical, socio-cultural and temporal limitations.

Datta and Brickell (2007) state that generally, the migrants with direct family members in the country of origin are the most likely group to send the greatest amounts of remittances, in most cases for altruistic purposes. This is especially marked in the cases of mothers and fathers who leave their children in the care of other people while working abroad themselves, also known as 'transnational parenthood' (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997). This is marked in the case of Antonio, a 'transnational father', with his children living with their mother from whom he has split up. In this case his children receive a monthly amount in terms of alimony to support their education. Arguably, while paying for education is principally on altruistic grounds, it can also be considered as a way of spreading risks, in that it can assist to ensure that the children will have a stronger position on the labour market and thus are able to reciprocate later in life (Datta and Brickell, 2007).

As to this study, this particular form of remittances is interesting because it marks an alteration in the discussion on the flows of remittances: the so much discussed 'South-North' remittances flows also occur within migration flows from "North" to "South". This supports the outdated annotation of the "North-South" divide. As to the so-called "North" and "South" discussion, the vignette of Anna evidences that the annotation of the "North-South" divide is still widely accepted, with Anna's relatives not accepting and understanding the choice of migration to the "southern" country of Morocco.

PROFESSIONAL ECONOMIC PRACTICES

As mentioned above, besides purely financial remittances there are other forms of transnational economic practices among the respondents, such as investments in, business dealings with, or business trips to the country of origin. When asking the respondents whether they were involved other forms of support to their country of origin that are considered here as professional economic practices, it resulted in the repercussion below.

THE CAREERIST - Maryan and Maria, operating an event management company in both Morocco as well as Spain, answered the question if they supported their country of origin, with the following: *“Of course we support Spain, our job is to trade relations between the two countries. We work here in Morocco and there in Spain.”*⁶⁴

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - Remedios, singing in the hotel branche, commented as follows when I asked her if she supports the people in Spain: *“Of course I will support anyone that needs my help. I have a son without work, my son has a little daughter that is now three months old. He doesn’t have a job and he stays in my house in Spain because where will he go else..? He cannot afford the rent for an apartment. Also, I got Gabi (the other singer in Hotel Movenpick) this job. She couldn’t find work in Spain and I have proposed to the hotel that we could sing together, as a vocal duo. We both gained, I have a great partner and she has an income.”*⁶⁵

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - The following vignette is reflecting that also Pedro is involved in a specific kind of transnational economic practices: *“My family has a vineyard and, like every summer, this summer I will go home to support them with the vintage during two or three weeks.”*⁶⁶

SYNTHESIS - Professional economic practices occur relatively often among the respondents as many of them are still involved in business within Spain next to their job in Morocco. Important to note here, that it is those typologies where the career is involved in the decision to migrate, thus the careerist, careerist-community seeker and the careerist-consumerist, that are involved in this particular type of transnational economic practices. Some migrants, like Maryan and Maria, are involved in transnational entrepreneurship and maintain business-related linkages with Spain and Morocco and its’ communities. In general, the process of transnational entrepreneurship entails entrepreneurial practices that are performed within a cross-national context, and initiated by actors

⁶⁴ Interview with Maria del Mar, director of event agency and Maryan Bernardi, coordinator of event agency in Tangier, on 24-04-2013

⁶⁵ Interview with Remedios Cortes, a singer in Hotel Movenpick, on 20-03-2013

⁶⁶ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

who are embedded in at least two different social and economic fields (Ribeiro et al., 2012). In this study, I will utilize the description of Drori et al. (2009, p. 1001) who define transnational entrepreneurs as *“social actors who enact networks, ideas, information, and practices for purpose of seeking business opportunities or maintaining businesses within dual social fields, which in turn force them engage in varied strategies of action to promote their entrepreneurial activities.”* Both Maryan and Maria are transnational entrepreneurs that migrated from Spain to Morocco, concomitantly maintaining business-related linkages with Spain, and currently adapted to Morocco and its’ community. In this way they travel both physically and virtually, and simultaneously engage in two lifeworlds. This allows them to sustain relations that increase their capacity to productively and logistically maximize their resources (Drori et al., 2009). As to the other two respondents quoted here, both of the practices seem less professional at first sight, however both practices reflect secondary business that involves Spanish citizens in the country of origin, and thus can also be considered as transnational economic practices.

6.4.2 TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL PRACTICES

THE CAREERIST - When asking 29-year old Carlos, working as a mechanic engineer, whether he is involved in politics within Spain while living in Morocco, he reacted as follows: *“Of course I would like to know what happens politically in Spain. So I read the newspapers, I talk with my family and friends. But with this distance now... With me living in another country, I don’t feel the obligation to vote. Maybe when the elections come and I am still here, I will feel different, I don’t know. But now, I don’t feel the need to give my vote.”*⁶⁷

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - As to the involvement within the Spanish politics, the 44-year old Remedios, a singer in the hotel branch, she reacted with the following: *The situation in Spain, you know how it is, it is evicting for all people with houses because they cannot pay their bills. Everything is broken down. This is what I think, is that politicians in Spain, no matter to which party they belong to, they are doing it wrong. Because I think they are not doing for the country what they need to do. In a time like this I am not political, I do not like politics. I don’t vote because I don’t know where to vote for now. But I think, if they could change something, they should unite more parties, more politicians should join, regardless of which group they belong. They should unite and do something for Spain, do something. But it seems that no, they cannot.”*⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Interview with Carlos, a mechanical engineer, on 26-04-2013

⁶⁸ Interview with Remedios Cortes, a singer in Hotel Movenpick, on 20-03-2013

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - On the question what the migrants' current level of involvement is in politics within the country of origin, Pedro commented as follows: *"I follow the media on the political situation in Spain because I have my ideology but I don't trust the media. When the crisis came to Spain the media didn't cover many cases on this but now the only thing that's in the news is the crisis. On one hand I want to know where my country is going, on the other hand it sometimes makes me frustrated and sad. Because it's all so negative. There doesn't seem to be a solution. For the same reason now I don't vote in Spain. Because I cannot support something that offers no solution."*⁶⁹

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Roberto comments with the following regarding his current political involvement in his country of origin: *"I try to stay active within the political life of Spain. I am still part of a political platform and I have my ideologies that I want to defend. Especially in times like these. Last week I went to a demonstration in Ceuta against the new law of education. We were there with only a hand full of people but for me it still seems valuable, I want my voice to be heard."*⁷⁰

THE FAMILY TYPE - When asking Anna whether she is still involved in the politics of her country of origin she shared the following: *"Daily I see and I read the news of Spain and it's all about the economic and political situation in Spain. It doesn't make me happy but you can't hide for it. But voting? I don't feel that voting now helps anything, it doesn't get you anywhere. The two dominant parties have all the power and they don't come with a solution."*⁷¹

SYNTHESIS - As regards to political involvement relating to the country of origin, it can be said that this is present among all migrants, regardless the type of migrant. The majority of respondents read newspapers from their country of origin, follow the news on TV and the internet, keep up-to-date with the politics and occasionally take part in demonstrations against the politics in their country of origin. While most of the respondents have the wish to be informed on the political situation in their country of origin and are therefore still involved in the Spain's developments, the majority does not take political commitments when it comes to voting in Spain after their migration to Morocco. The fact that Remedios, Pedro and Anna indicate to not vote during elections clearly reflects the lack of confidence in the collective voice as a means for progress and can be considered as a silent condemnation of the failure of collective response in Spain. For Carlos the reason to not take political

⁶⁹ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

⁷⁰ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

⁷¹ Interview with Anna Jimenez, music teacher, on 10-05-2013

commitments in the country of origin lays within the fact that he does not feel eligible to vote for a country where he does not live now. Roberto however, states that he has always been involved and, regardless of his current place of residence, is still involved in political practices and developments in his country of origin as he attaches importance to his voice, especially in times of crisis.

6.4.3 TRANSNATIONAL SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES

Most of the work on migrant transnationalism has examined social organization or the configuration of social groups as they adapt to cross-border contexts. There has been an extensive quantity of research that has detailed on *"the emergence of transnational social practices and institutions that create a field of sociability and identification among immigrants and people in the country of origin"* (Itzigsohn and Saucido, 2002, p. 788). While this approach is undoubtedly significant and informative, there has been an overemphasis on the social institutions of transnationalism. In order to obtain balance, there is a strong need for observing the phenomenon of transnationalism as it takes place within, and has impact upon, the everyday life of the individual (Voigt Graf, 2002). While actor-oriented approaches carry the risk of neglecting the larger structural environment, these approaches own the advantage of giving emphasis to the motivations, meaning and the place of migrants as their own agents in the process of change. The concept of *'bifocality'* advocates a way through which transnationalism has transformed the migrants' everyday life 'here' and 'there' (Vertovec, 2004). Several scholars have, with the help of a variety of terms and concepts, fundamentally delineated on how transnational practices of exchange, communication and regular travelling influence the outlooks and everyday experiences of migrants. In line with this study, Robert Smith (2001), who portrays the migrants' practices and relations with the country of origin and residence as a *'life world'*. Also Guarnizo (1997) describes the influence of transnational practices on the migrants' everyday life by building upon Bourdieu's ideas of *'habitus'*. He proposes the idea of a *'transnational habitus'* meaning:

"a particular set of dualistic dispositions that inclines migrants to act and react to specific situations in a manner that can be, but is not always, calculated, and that is not simply a question of conscious acceptance of specific behavioural or socio cultural rules. . . . The transnational habitus incorporates the social position of the migrant and the context in which transmigration occurs. This accounts for the similarity in the transnational habitus of migrants from the same social grouping (class, gender, generation) and the generation of transnational practices adjusted to specific situations" (Guarnizo, 1997, p. 311).

Guarnizo (1997) continues with delineating on this with an example of Dominican migrants preserving *'a dual frame of reference'* in which they continuously make a comparison between the

situation in the country of origin to the situation in the country of residence. Also Roger Rouse (1992) gave a description on the 'bifocality' of people's daily life portrayed through localities in Michoacán and California. He suggests that "*their bifocalism stemmed not from transitional adjustments to a new locale, but from a chronic, contradictory transnationalism.*" (Roger Rouse, 1992, p. 46) It is meaningful to study the effects of transnationalism for altering attitudes and experiences of the migrant both 'here' and 'there', especially when focussing on the transformation of the meaning of 'home'. A relevant study on Moroccan women in Italy, provided by Salih (2003), elucidates on this with a striking example. Either in Italy or Morocco, the Moroccan women bought, consumed, exhibited and exchanged goods from their 'other home' as a means to represent their ongoing sense of dual belonging. The transformation of everyday orientations simultaneously toward both 'here' and 'there' is a shift that goes together with the transnationalization of discrete social practices amongst migrants (Portes and De Wind, 2004).

To utilize the concept of 'bifocality' and to explore the migrants' dual orientation, I distinguish between practices linking the country of origin and the country of residence when describing the migrants' transnational socio-cultural practices. The former involves visits on regular basis and maintaining contacts with family and friends in Spain. The latter involves the migrants' relationship with the local community reflected in the level of connection the respondent has with the inhabitants of the country of residence.

VISITING THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

THE CAREERIST - As to visiting the country of origin, Juan commented as follows: "*I'm going to be honest; I do not give the solution, they must give the solution, it's just very unfortunate what is happening. But the truth is that there comes a time that you get discouraged. For five months I didn't return to Spain because I had other things to do here. I cannot and will not move from here now. At other times I was gone to Spain for fifteen days and when I returned... Oh my! Totally wrecked..*"⁷²

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - Antonio responding on the question whether he visits his country of origin regularly: "*Yes, I visit Spain very regularly. Before I travelled to Spain every other two weeks to see my children. This was a deal that I made with the company where I worked by that time. But this was too much. It was too hectic for myself. So I decided to go and visit my children once a month and now they are used to it.*"⁷³

⁷² Interview with Juan, a restaurant owner and chef cook, on 23-03-2013

⁷³ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte on 18-05-2013.

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - When asking Pedro if he regularly travelled to Spain, he reacted with the following: *“Since I am here I visited my country once and I didn’t like what I saw. The atmosphere became negative, it’s like the Mediterranean life is pulled out of the people as people or don’t have money to spend or are afraid to spend it. Within the media but also in social life, everything is drenched in the crisis. I personally don’t want to be confronted with problems the whole time, so I am happy to stay here now.”*⁷⁴

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Roberto comments with the following when asking him if he visits his country of origin on a regular basis: *“I go back to Spain for holidays, to see my family and my friends. But not very regularly because I simply don’t have the money for it. I rather go once in a few months for a holiday and enjoy instead of every month just for a weekend.”*⁷⁵

THE FAMILY TYPE - When asking Anna if she visits her country of origin on a regular base, she answered with: *“No, no, because the trip is very expensive. For example, for the people who go to Madrid the flights are very cheap with Ryanair but they do not fly from here to Barcelona. For example, with Christmas we wanted to go to Spain to be with the family. My husband does not trust anyone to replace him at work. But then for Christmas, he could leave work and go to Spain for four days. Well, to come would cost us 500 euro each. It is very expensive. Then we decided to only let our daughter go so she could be with her cousins. But she was crying that she wanted to stay here. At the end me and my husband stayed here for Christmas. We could also drive there but again this is expensive. It is over a thousand kilometres that we go north. Taking the car ferry is very expensive, gasoline is also very expensive in Spain. Then you have to pay tolls as well when you are in Spain. Last year we spend one thousand euro for travelling only. And then you have to spend more money there. It’s impossible. Sure, there are a lot of Spanish working here that travel back and forth a lot, because they have the salary to do this. But not us.”*⁷⁶

SYNTHESIS - It seems that transnational practices as to visiting the country of origin occurs both among migrants with good and marginalized positions within the labour market. However, the frequency among those that have a weaker position within the labour market, like the community seeker – consumerist Roberto and the family type Anna, seems to be lower compared to migrants with a strong position within the labour market, like the careerist – community seeker Antonio. This can be explained through the lack of financial resources for travelling. As Al-Ali et al. (2001) state transnational practices always involves expenses and are therefore partially reliant on the available

⁷⁴ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

⁷⁵ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

⁷⁶ Interview with Anna Jimenez, music teacher, on 10-05-2013

financial means. Unemployed migrants or migrants with a weaker position within the labour market might have a need for transnational practices, but lack the financial means to engage in them. However, conversely, employed migrants (with a stronger position within the labour market), such as careerist Juan and community seeker – consumerist Pedro, that do have the financial means to develop transnational socio-cultural practices, consciously decide not to engage in them, at least as to visiting the country. As seen in the above vignettes both Juan and Pedro don't feel such a strong need to visit the country of origin through the negativity of the crisis that they experience when they are in Spain. In this case, the crisis inhibits the migrant to involve in transnational socio-cultural practices such as visiting the country of origin.

MAINTAINING CONTACT WITH RELATIVES

A number of theorists on transnationalism have pointed to how technological advances have expanded the scope, and increased the rate of transnational connections (Faist, 2000a; Vertovec, 2004). Modern technology is indisputably fundamental in the 'transnational' lives of the Spanish migrants living in Tangier.

THE CAREERIST - Carlos commenting on the maintenance of contact with his relatives in Spain: *"Yes, I speak every day with my mother, my girlfriend, my girlfriend lives in Spain, how convenient..? Nowadays with the internet and Skype it is very easy to be in touch. I like to talk to someone every day."*⁷⁷

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - When asking Antonio if he maintained a lot of contact with Spain, he reacted with the following: *"Yes, of course. I read the Spanish newspaper and even watch Spanish TV. I contact my children almost every day and I chat with my friends in Spain via the internet. I want to maintain contact with my world over there, not the whole time, but on a regular basis."*⁷⁸

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - Pedro giving insight in his maintenance of contact with his relatives in Spain: *"I keep in touch with the people from Spain. By phone, via Skype, or by email. But not so much. I try to call my parents once a week because I know they appreciate it but with my friends I only talk once or twice a month. I am here for myself and I cannot live in two worlds at the same time."*⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Interview with Carlos, a mechanical engineer, on 26-04-2013

⁷⁸ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, a project manager in real estate, on 18-05-2013

⁷⁹ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - The 68-year old Tony, a retired military, comments on the question whether he keeps in touch with his relatives in Spain with the following: *“I am in contact with people from Spain very regularly. Almost every day I talk to someone who is up there. I have two sons of my last marriage and one daughter of my first marriage that I speak to every week. I often call with my friends in Spain, all via Skype.”*⁸⁰

THE FAMILY TYPE - Anna commenting on the contact she maintains with her country of origin: *“I am in contact with my family continuously. My mother calls me two or three times a week, I talk a lot via Whatsapp and Skype with my sister, and with my friends. Less than I would like, because after all, we all have our own things, our work. I miss them a lot, but I'm fine, I have a happy life here as well.”*⁸¹

SYNTHESIS - Transnational socio-cultural practices in the form of contact with the migrants' network in Spain, occur very frequently. In general, strong ties are maintained between the migrants and their family networks in their country of origin. Partly because of nostalgia, partly so that they will have social contacts and support when they (need to) return to their homelands. In all cases, the respondents are involved in this type of activity. The majority of the respondents has intensive contact with family and friends at home (at least once a week). There doesn't seem to be a clear distinction in frequency of keeping in contact with relatives in Spain among the different types of migrants. The case of Pedro, however, is an outlier, as he emphasizes on the fact that he doesn't feel the desire to have very frequent contact with his relatives because he feels that he cannot be part of two different worlds at the same time, and thus rejecting transnationalism in terms of transnational socio-cultural practices.

CONNECTING WITH THE LOCALS

To get an insight into the degree that attitudes towards the local community influence the migration experience, this section will address the connection that the Spanish migrants have with the Moroccan.

THE CAREERIST - The 44-year old restaurant owner and chef cook Juan Carlos described his connection with the local community as follows: *“It's not like home because it's very different, but hey, it's pretty good, lots of people have it much worse. I do not get used to some things, because of course people here are very different from us. They think differently, many times you attempt you explain something and they have a totally different opinion on things and the environment as you*

⁸⁰ Interview with Tony, a retired military, on 26-03-2013

⁸¹ Interview with Anna Jimenez on 10-05-2013

have. And then there is the glue sniffing, homeless in the medina at night. They are like hidden rats, everywhere, in all Tangier.”⁸²

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - When asking Antonio if he easily connects with the locals in Tangier, he commented with the following: *“Yes, I like the way they are. They are very funny. They like to solve their problems... I found that the better way to solve problems is by the fun way. They like to see the fun part of the conversation and go for that. If you try to be hard headed you will find yourself in the wall. But if you have a problem and you find something in the conversation that might be funny, or you can make fun of it, they appreciate it a lot and they will be relaxed. They will open up. And I like that way of being and doing things. Relaxation...”*⁸³

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - Roberto’s point of view on the connection with the locals in Tangier: *“The second day I was here I met four Moroccan girls. I fell in love with one of them and now I am trying to have a relationship with her but it’s difficult because in general Moroccan are so closed. And also I notice that in general the Spanish do not like the Arabic, or the Moroccan because they are so different from us. This is something that the Moroccan feel as well and that makes it more difficult to connect.”*⁸⁴

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Pedro connected social life with religion and shared the following opinion on the question if and how he connects with the locals: *“I am especially very interested in the influences of the Islam because it’s a big part of peoples life here and without understanding and respecting their religion, I think you cannot really connect with them. If I compare the Islam with the Christian religion, I think the Islam is much more sincere. Regardless of the extremists that are there in every religion, this seems more sincere. I understand it better than Christianity. For example, at first I laughed that people got up at five o'clock to pray. And to pray five times a day. But compared to “Semana Santa” and you see what people do there and it is much more ridiculous. It's superficial, here people live their religion, will pray two minutes in the mosque and are done. Here's more account to another, for example people who have no money, get help from others. It is one of the principles of the Koran, help each other. There is more solidarity here is more... and I think that is imposed by a religion, I think. Back in Spain everything is just a big fake. Christianity is false.”*⁸⁵

⁸² Interview with Juan Carlos, restaurant owner and cook in Tangier, on 23-03-2013

⁸³ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, a project manager in real estate, on 18-05-2013

⁸⁴ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

⁸⁵ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

THE FAMILY TYPE - As to the level of acceptance of the local community experienced by the migrants, Anna commented as follows: *“I feel accepted by the local community but I think that can mainly be devoted to my own level of respect. I have to admit that my group of friends here are all Spanish because it’s just easier to connect with people from your own country, especially compared to Moroccan woman, you just never see them!”*⁸⁶

SYNTHESIS - The majority of the migrants emphasize the differences in socio-cultural lifestyles between themselves and the local population of their country of residence. Some of them approach this difference as something positive and some of them as a barrier in connecting with the local community. The community-seeking type of migrant feels clearly more connected to the local population than the other type of migrants. When comparing the vignette of Anna with the other respondents, the connection between the Spanish migrants and the local population of Tangier seems gender-dependent as among the respondents in general the man connects more easily with the locals and the women find more difficulties with connecting to especially Moroccan women. This could be explained through the unequal gender rights and the different life-style between man and women in Morocco. The effect this has for Anna in particular is that she is more involved in Spanish networks in the country of destination.

6.5 TRANSNATIONAL IDENTIFICATIONS

Transnational identifications are described as cross-border identifications, referring to the extent to which the Spanish migrants living in Morocco identify with compatriots outside the country. As Bauman (2004) states, people construct their social identities, which indicate how they define themselves in relation to their social environment. In this study there will be looked upon the respondents view on their relations with native Moroccan people, compatriots living in Morocco, and compatriots living in Spain. Within transnational identifications it is not about what distinguishes one individual from another, but about what is shared with others (Snel et al., 2006). Two main questions arise here: *‘to whom do I belong?’* and *‘whose norms and values are important to me?’*

TO WHOM DO I BELONG?

To recognize the transnational identification of the respondent, the question was asked to which extent the Spanish migrants living in Morocco identify with compatriots living in the country of origin or in the country of residence.

⁸⁶ Interview with Anna Jimenez on 10-05-2013

THE CAREERIST - When asking Alberto, a 28-year old chemical engineer, if he identified more with the Spaniards or the Moroccan he commented as follows: *"I feel more Spanish, and I can tell, this only became more strong since I have been here longer. Because before I thought it was a bit the same, but now I see in general things in Spain work better, on the work floor, within the gastronomy, with the people and with.... everything."*⁸⁷

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - Antonio shared the following when asking him if he felt more Spanish or Moroccan: *"No, I feel more Spanish... I think. But I am not a very Spanish person. I don't like the concept of being Spanish. I prefer being open minded and I don't like to be classified and someone saying: "Ah, you are Spanish". I hate that, I hate that. If someone says "You are from Spain". I am ahhh, why do you say that. I like when people ask "Ah, where are you from, are you from France or something?"*⁸⁸

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - Pedro describing his level of identification with the his country of origin and his country of residence: *"I don't really feel Spanish but I am Spanish, whether I like it or not. But I don't feel like a Moroccan neither. But I do not identify with my country, I do not identify. I see the flag of my country and I don't care, for me it's the same. I don't know why. I could be Spanish, Vietnamese, French, for me it's all the same. I am Spanish because my family is there."*⁸⁹

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Tony commented on his level of identification with the people of his country of origin/ country of residence as follows: *"I am Spanish, at heart! But I don't feel nostalgic being here. The moment I feel nostalgia I go home. I feel it doesn't matter that where you are from. The people here make me feel at home."*⁹⁰

THE FAMILY TYPE - Anna reacted with the following as to the subject transnational identifications: *"I feel 100% Spanish. I try to be open to everything in Morocco but I identify more with my own nationality than with the Moroccan. I think this partly has to do with the difference in culture and religion. I find a lot of difficulties to connect with the Moroccans and that's also a reason that the people around me here are mostly Spanish. You can just connect more easily with people from your own country."*⁹¹

⁸⁷ Interview with Alberto, a chemical engineer, on 26-04-2013

⁸⁸ Interview with Antonio, a real estate project manager, on 15-05-2013

⁸⁹ Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, teacher in Spanish language in literature, on 13-03-2013

⁹⁰ Interview with Tony, a retired military, on 26-03-2013

⁹¹ Interview with Anna Jimenez on 10-05-2013

ADOPTING MOROCCAN HABITS AND TRADITIONS

To recognize the importance of the migrants' values and norms, the question was asked to which extent the migrant adopted Moroccan habits and traditions.

THE CAREERIST - As to Moroccan habits and traditions, Maryan stated the following: *“One gets used to everything, I respect their culture but in many terms I do not share it. You have to adapt to a number of things such as the way they dress, without many transparencies, or necklines. And that’s what I do. Don’t get me wrong, I respect everything of their culture but respecting and adopting are two different things. Furthermore I still love to live it the Spanish way and I visit Spain a lot. This is still my country and my culture.”*⁹²

THE CAREERIST – COMMUNITY SEEKER - Antonio shared the following story when asking him if he adopted any Moroccan habits or traditions: *“As a matter of fact I make the Ramadan myself. In daytime I don’t eat, I don’t drink. I make a light Ramadan. When I go home I eat and drink something but when I am at work I don’t drink, I don’t eat. With two reasons in mind, the first one: I respect. If they don’t drink and don’t eat I don’t like to drink and eat in front of their faces. It doesn’t feel good at all. And the second reason is: to be able to judge if it’s difficult enough to be in Ramadan and to have excuses. Like “excuse me, but I am in Ramadan, I don’t have the strength to do this”. And then I can say: “No, I am doing Ramadan myself and we can go and make that. I make Ramadan myself so don’t tell me stories about what you can’t do because of Ramadan”. And also I was curious, I want to see what happens to a human being while doing Ramadan. But believe me, it’s hard, it’s hard.”*⁹³

THE CAREERIST – CONSUMERIST - Pablo, a 52-year old restaurant owner, illustrates his level of adaption in the spheres of Moroccan habits and traditions: *“In principle, I eat couscous once or twice a month, on Friday. The tagine I like a lot, the harira only when it’s cold weather, the mint tea I drink daily, almost everything culinary I love here. But as to manners, no, because here almost everything is linked to religion. And that’s why we are a little bit outside the circle.”*⁹⁴

THE COMMUNITY SEEKER – CONSUMERIST - Roberto: *“Well, since my girlfriend is from here I am probably unconsciously adopting some Moroccan habits. Let me think about concrete examples... The most obvious one is probably their kitchen. I love to cook from the Moroccan kitchen. I like the sharing of the tagine on Friday afternoons, after the prey. I love this tradition, it gives me a feeling of solidarity and open-handedness. In my relationship there are sometimes some difficulties through cultural or religious differences but I try to be very respectful at all times, even when it’s hard to*

⁹² Interview with Remedios Cortes, a singer in Hotel Movenpick, on 20-03-2013

⁹³ Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, a project manager in real estate, on 18-05-2013

⁹⁴ Interview with Pablo, a restaurant owner, on 02-05-2013

understand. For example, with sexual intercourse that is strictly forbidden within her family. That is something that is difficult to understand when you grew up in an open-minded family where everything was possible."⁹⁵

THE FAMILY TYPE - When the question arose whether the migrants adopted Moroccan habits, Anna shared the following: *"I bought a jelleba but it was too long so I cut it and now it's a short dress, haha! On food habits? On Friday I will eat some couscous, and of course the Moroccan bread, I love the bread. Once or twice a month I have a Moroccan woman in my house that helps me cleaning and I ask her to make a tagine. But the truth is: no. Besides the food I did not adopt anything because it's all so different from what we are used to".*⁹⁶

SYNTHESIS - As to their norms and values all respondents claimed to respect the Moroccan norms and values, habits and traditions, however most respondents did not adopt these within their own life because of the big differences in culture compared to their own. The majority holds on to the norms, values, habits and traditions of their country of origin as they feel more connection. The respondents in general identify more with their own ethnic group, living in the country of origin or in the host country, than with the Moroccan. However, what becomes clear is that the community-seeking type of migrant is more open towards the adoption of cultural and religious elements within their lifestyle as compared to the other types of migrants. For example, Antonio adapted religious elements in his hybrid lifestyle to gain a bigger understanding of the Moroccan community. The most important reason for him to practice the Ramadan himself can be linked to his career as Antonio states that in working spheres it is important to understand what the implications of the Ramadan are to people that practice and which consequences are acceptable. Also Roberto, willingly or unwillingly, adopted religious elements within his lifestyle through having a relationship with a Moroccan woman.

CONCLUSION

It can be said that transnational practices constitute a substantial part of the lives of the Spanish crisis-induced migrants in Morocco whereas this modern transmigrant is at home in several social worlds, participates in cross-border social networks, and sometimes makes a living with transnational economic practices. However, on the other hand, this crisis-induced migrant left his or her country partly through difficulties with Spain's economic and political situation. These obstructions are clearly reflected in the level of their transnational practices as this migrant is overall seen less active

⁹⁵ Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in history and the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013

⁹⁶ Interview with Anna Jimenez on 10-05-2013

in economic and political practices in the country of origin as compared to socio-cultural practices. However, although not very actively practicing within economic and political spheres in the country of origin, there still exists a dual orientation to a certain extent as the majority finds it important to keep-up-to-date with the economy and politics, despite the lack of confidence in Spain. This can be partly explained through the desire among the majority of the respondents to return home when the situation in Spain stabilizes. With regard specifically to socio-cultural transnational practices, the dual orientation of these trans-migrants is to a certain extent dependent on modern communication and transport networks as the majority regularly watch Spanish TV, calls their relatives (via internet), and frequently visits the country of origin.

As to the migrants' citizenship, David Fitzgerald (2000) accurately observes that transmigrants challenge nation-state ideals of belonging in both the country of origin as the country of destination. They do this not least by moving back and forth between the countries, occasionally evading the country's controls over borders and taxes. As Fitzgerald (2000, p. 10) states "*Transnational migrants often live in a country in which they do not claim citizenship and claim citizenship in a country in which they do not live.*" This phenomenon is witnessed in the examples of the migrants that hold the Spanish nationality and have a three-month visa for Morocco that they can extend by simply stepping on Spanish soil. As to the migrants' identification with co-ethnics, it can be said that these are much more strong than with the local community within their host country. Migrants primarily identify with their own ethnic group, living either in Morocco or in Spain, mainly through the difference in life styles. It seems that the more respondents are involved in transnational practices (especially transnational political practices and socio-cultural practices in the country of origin) the stronger their transnational identifications. This is in line with the literature on transnational practices and identifications that puts forward that generally speaking, involvement in transnational activities goes hand in hand with strong identifications with compatriots in the country of origin (Snel et al., 2006).

The concern voiced by several authors (Sana, 2005; Snel et al., 2006) that the migrants' transnational involvement hinders integration into the host society is not completely unjustified within the group of respondents. In general, groups that are (perceived to be) culturally different from the mainstream host society appear to have more difficulties combining transnational involvement with integration. This is especially the case for the respondents that do not belong to the community-seeking type of migrant (who in general feel more connected with the local community). It seems that the respondents that have stronger identifications with the country of origin are to a lesser extent integrated into the host society. This is in particular reflected in the Spanish network in which

they find themselves. Furthermore, the lack of citizenship and desire to speak their own language, are also signs of weak integration, something that is present amongst the majority of the crisis-induced Spanish migrant living in Morocco.

7. TOWARDS CONCLUSIONS

As appeared in this study, the migration from Spain to Morocco serves as a means of self-reliance in times of crisis. Although the migrants motivations differ strongly: from migrating with a focus on the prosperity of their career, migration through identification with another country and its culture, because of the desire to enjoy the experience abroad, exclusively out of family considerations, or a combination between this, through all respondents' biographies, the crisis is an incentive for the actual move. Either from primary importance or for secondary reasoning, the economic and political situation in Spain is interwoven in every migration motivation and serves like the leitmotiv through the migrant's life stories. However, there is a need to stop considering migration as a contemplative act to overcome structural constraints, but to acknowledge that a recession can trigger significant migration as people find themselves with fewer constraints on their movements, for example when people lose their job. In the cases of these migrants, there is an active choice to make good out of a bad situation.

When this crisis-induced migrant makes the decision to move to Morocco, he or she is not just taking into account the difference between wages in Spain and Morocco at a given moment, but will also consider the possibilities for development that Morocco might offer over his or her life cycle or the overall period of emigration, including the probability of access to a stable job in the country of destination, the possibilities for social and professional promotion that each market offers, and the different level of risk associated with future income flows over the migrant's life cycle in each country. This reflects the migrants' aspiration for stability and security of great importance in the lives of the migrant, whether career-wise; financial or contractual, family-wise; through family gathering or reunion; or in social life; through identifications with the local community, which all respondents seem to have found through their migration to Morocco.

The main goal of these migrants is to improve the quality of life. Therefore, we could state that migrants faced with an economic crisis, migrating from richer countries than the host country, react in a similar way as individuals that come from countries with a lower level of economic development. The review of my empirical study found that the majority of Spanish migrants acknowledge that economic factors take up a secondary role in their migration. In the case of the careerist-type of migrant, the term 'quality of life' has an almost exclusively economic and material dimension. Among the community seeking- and the consumerist type of migrant, motivations are more closely related to a post-materialist system of values in which the consumption of experiences and enjoyment of practices are fundamental. This marks the dissimilarity between the Spanish migrants and individuals from countries with a lower level of economic development since their motivations are more closely

related to materialist values. As might be clear by now, this particular form of migration is highly complex as different motivations interrelate and there is a mixture between economic and lifestyle migration.

As to the transnational character of the migrants' practices, it can be said that these practices constitute a substantial part in the lifeworld of the Spanish crisis-induced migrants in Morocco whereas this modern 'transmigrant' is at home in several social worlds, is involved in cross-border social networks, and occasionally makes a living by means of transnational economic practices. However, on the other hand, this crisis-induced migrant left his or her country partly through difficulties with Spain's economic and political situation. These obstructions are clearly reflected in the level of their transnational practices, as this migrant is overall seen less active in economic and political practices in the country of origin as compared to socio-cultural practices. The crisis also inhibits many migrants to involve in transnational practices, either financially, politically, or socially. However, although not very actively practicing within economic and political spheres in the country of origin, the majority finds it important to keep-up-to-date with the economy and politics, despite the lack of confidence in Spain. This can be partly explained through the desire among the majority of the respondents to return home when the situation in Spain stabilizes and partly through the fact that the migrant only recently moved, and is therefore more concerned about the situation in their country of origin.

As to the migrants' identification with co-ethnics, it can be said that these are much more severe than with the local community within their host country. Migrants primarily identify with their own ethnic group, living either in Morocco or Spain, mainly because of the dissimilarities in life style between the Spanish and Moroccan community. It seems that the higher the level of the respondents' involvement in transnational practices (in particular transnational political practices and socio-cultural practices in the country of origin) the stronger his or her transnational identifications.

The concern voiced by several author that the migrants' transnational involvement hinders integration into the host society, is not completely unjustified within the group of respondents. In general, groups that are (perceived to be) culturally different from the mainstream host society appear to have more difficulties combining transnational involvement with integration (Snel et al., 2006). This is especially the case for the respondents that do not belong to the community seeking type of migrant (the latter in general feels more connected with the local community). It seems that the respondents that have stronger identifications with the country of origin are less integrated into the host society. This is in particular reflected in the Spanish network in which they find themselves. Furthermore, the lack of citizenship and desire to speak their own language, are also signs of weak

integration, something that is present amongst the majority of the crisis-induced Spanish migrant living in Morocco.

The insight into the everyday lives and experiences of Spanish migrants in Tangier reveals complex ways in which transnational practices, identifications and processes of adaption and integration are interrelated. With the aspirations of the migrants to migrate to Morocco, reflected in the five migrant typologies, being highly diverse, there are some relationships between different migrant typologies and the diversity in their transnational lifeworlds. When talking about transnational economic practices, it is within those typologies where the career is involved in the decision to migrate, where transnational economic practices in the form of professional economic practices occur the most. As for the transnational socio-cultural practice 'visiting the country of origin', this is generally lower practiced amongst the migrants where there is no career involved in the decision to migrate compared to migrants with a stronger position within the labour market. This can be explained through the lack of financial resources for travelling as transnational practices always involves expenses and are therefore partially reliant on the available financial means. In the migrants' connection with the local population there are clear differences amongst the different types of migrants whereas the community-seeking type of migrant clearly feels more connected to the local community than the other types of migrants. The community-seeking type of migrant is also more open towards the adoption of cultural and religious elements within their transnational lifeworld as compared to the other types of migrants.

Besides the differences mentioned above, there are also many similarities in their transnational lifeworlds and migration for economic and lifestyle reasons seems to intermingle here. While the Spanish 'community' is naturally intrinsically miscellaneous, the majority engages in practices that reflect the forging of a common sense of 'Spanish' identity in Morocco and facilitate the maintenance of ties to people and places in Spain. This is partly related to the perceived cultural differences from the host society, and partly imputable to the shared desire to return to the country of origin when the economy stabilizes again. Moreover, the majority of these migrants have only recently migrated to Morocco, and this can also be a reason for their transnational activity in Spain. What is clear is that all three issues impede the integration into the host society. Whereas many authors stressed that transnational practices and identifications are commonly positively connected with the integration of migrants, and can smooth the progress of prosperous adaptation by accommodating opportunities for (transnational) entrepreneurship and economic mobility, this is not the case for the Spanish migrants living in Tangier. This calls for new theoretical inquiries in turn and this study could therefore serve as a starting point for further research in the integration debate on 'North-South' migration. However, although the majority of the migrants emphasize the discrepancy in the life

style of Morocco as compared to Spain, and maintain a desire of return, both reasons for their transnational activity and disintegration into the host society, in general the Spanish respondents consider Morocco as a country of opportunities whereas their country of origin is lacking these.

In general, North-South migration is often overlooked in one's conceptualizations. This study has pointed to the complexity that is intrinsic to the current endeavours in explaining the contemporary global migration patterns. It highlights the impasses and contradictions that are inherent in the migration and development-nexus debate, where the focus is much more directed to the 'global south' and less to the 'global north'. The case of 'South-North' remittances that has hardly been given any attention to within migration research, and have not been captured in much of the documentation of global flows, is an example of this. Interestingly, they are from the global regions that are commonly considered as less endowed. For the above mentioned reasons, there is a great need for more in-depth research in this particular form of migratory movements to reconsider the contemporary structuring of the world within the ever-evolving global map of migration.

THE UNDERLYING MESSAGE

The migration from the so-called 'rich North' to the 'poor and developing south' obviously does not fit into the European stereotypes of Africa as 'the continent of despair'. During my stay in Spain I discovered many people still hold this portrayal of Africa as backward. Something that is reflected in their astonished reactions when I told them about my research: "Who would want to go there?", "Are you sure you are talking about Spaniards and not Moroccan with a Spanish identity?" Also among the respondent there were negative reactions towards their migration to Morocco. Naturally, as mentioned before, it may seem like a surprising predilection for a Spaniard seeing the fact that Morocco's GDP-rate still amounts one-sixth of that of Spain and its' unemployment rate is estimated at thirty percent. However, as Hein de Haas (2013) strongly argues, within migration, always expect the unexpected. It is of high importance to go beyond colonial stereotypes of the so-called 'rich north' and the 'poor and developing south' as this is obsolete and incorrect. What many people ignore, is that the economy of Morocco nowadays is growing continually, and can today offer better opportunities to skilled, entrepreneurial Spanish than the stagnating economy of Spain. In addition, the Moroccan economy has been sheltered from the worst effects of the global economic crisis because its' banking sector is less liberalized and therefore better protected. It is impossible to predict what the future holds. Of course, if the Spanish economy stabilizes again, it is likely that emigration will fall and immigration increases again, including the possible returns of the Spanish migrants. However, it remains a question when and to what extent economic recovery occurs, as the current crisis seems to be a protracted one, and may last for many more years.

8. REFERENCES

- Adamson, G. (2006). *IMMIGRANTS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION – BACKGROUND, THEORY, AND EMPIRICAL SUGGESTIONS*. Department of Sociology. London School of Economics and Political Science.
Retrieved from: http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/221-Immigrants_and_political_participation_2006.pdf
- AfDB, OECD, UNDP, UNECA. (2012). *African Economic Outlook. Morocco 2012*.
Retrieved from:
<http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/fileadmin/uploads/aeo/PDF/Morocco%20Full%20PDF%20Country%20Note.pdf>
- Al-Ali, N., Black, R. & Koser, K. (2001). Refugees and transnationalism: the experience of Bosnians and Eritreans in Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(4), pp. 615-634.
- Alonso, J. (2011) *International Migration and Development: A review in the light of the crisis. Economic & Social Affairs*. Background Paper No. 11. December 2011.
Retrieved from: https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/cdp/cdp_background_papers/bp2011_11e.pdf
- Arango, J., Quiñones, F.G. (2009). *The Impacts of the Current Financial and Economic Crisis on Migration in the Spain-Morocco Corridor*. CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes 2009/39.
Retrieved from:
http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/12994/CARIM_ASN_2009_39.pdf;jsessionid=C6BB18013CBC963C939D740364F64EE9?sequence=1
- Arango, J., Martin, P. (2009). Best Practices to Manage Migration: Morocco-Spain. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 258-269
Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.uu.nl/stable/pdfplus/27645483.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Archambault, C. (2012). *Presentation on participate observation*. International Development Studies.
- Bartel A., Lichtenberg F. (1987). The comparative advantage of educated workers in implementing new technologies. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 69 1-11
- Bauman, Z. (2004). *Identity, Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Retrieved from: http://books.google.nl/books/about/Identity.html?id=xkA_0mmQcloC&redir_esc=y
- BBC (2012). *Spanish unemployment hits record 5.74 million*. 27 april 2012.
Retrieved from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-17866382>
- Beets, G., Willekens, F. (2009). *The Global Economic Crisis and International Migration: An Uncertain Outlook*. Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute. European Commission. November 2009.
- Bell. W. (1958). Social choice, life styles and suburban residence. *The suburban community*, pp. 225-247.
- Bell W. (1968). The city, the suburb and a theory of social choice. *The New Urbanization*, pp. 132-168.
- Ben-Zeev, J. (1998). Marriage of convenience: The subjective experiences of Anglo-Saxon immigrants in Canada. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences & Engineering*, 59 (5-A), 2481.
- Beshers, J. (1967). *Population processes in social systems*. New York: Free Press.
- Bilgili, O., Weyel, S. (2009). Migration in Morocco: History, Current Trends and Future Prospects. *Paper Series: Migration and Development Country Profiles*. December 2009.
Retrieved from: http://mgsog.merit.unu.edu/ISacademie/docs/CR_morocco.pdf
- Boeije, H. (2005). *Analyseren in kwalitatief onderzoek*. Boom Onderwijs, Nederland.
- Bosen, R. (2013). *Spain is put to the test*. DW.DE. 08-05-2013.
Retrieved from: <http://www.dw.de/spain-is-put-to-the-test/a-1679503753>
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Burgelt, P.T. (2004). *The Experiences of German Immigrants to New Zealand and Australia throughout the Migration Process*. PHD Research Proposal. Retrieved from: <http://giip.massey.ac.nz/content/res-proposal.pdf>

- Brobeck, S. (1997). *Encyclopedia of the Consumer Movement*. Santa Barbara, California.
- Brown, S. (2006). Can remittances spur development? A critical survey. *International Studies Review*, 8, 55–75.
- Carballo-Cruz, F. (2011), Causes and Consequences of the Spanish Economic Crisis: Why the Recovery is Taken so Long? *Panoeconomicus* 3, pp. 309-328. 9 September, 2011.
Retrieved from: <http://www.doiserbia.nb.rs/img/doi/1452-595X/2011/1452-595X1103309C.pdf>
- Ceballos, L. (2009). *Historia de Tanger*. Almuzara, 2009. 384 p.
- Carling, J. (2001). *Aspiration and ability in international migration*. Cape Verdean experiences of mobility and immobility. Dissertation and Theses No. 5/2001.
Retrieved from: <https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/32655/dt2001.05.carling.pdf?sequence=1>
- Central Intelligence Agency (2012). The World Factbook. The Economy of Morocco.
Retrieved from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mo.html>
- Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia (2013). *Tangier* (Morocco).
Retrieved from: <http://www.britannica.com/search?query=Tangier>
- Cooke, Thomas J. (2003). Family Migration and the Relative Earnings of Husbands and Wives. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, no.2, 338-349.
- Datta, A. and Brickell, K. (2007). Introduction: Translocal Geographies. *Translocal Geographies Spaces, Places, Connections*, pp. 3-20
- Dobson, J., Latham, A. & Salt, J. (2009). On the move? Labour migration in times of recession. What we can learn from the past? Policy network paper. 23 p.
Retrieved from : <http://www.policy-network.net/uploadedFiles/Publications/Publications/On%20the%20move%20-%20Labour%20migration%20in%20times%20of%20recession.pdf> Retrieved on: 18-01-2013 Retrieved on: 27-01-2013
- Driessen, H. (2008). *Tussen oude continenten*. De vele gezichten van de Middelandse Zee. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Wereldbibliotheek, 2008.
- Drori, I., Honing, B., & Wright, M. (2009). *Transnational Entrepreneurship: An Emergent Field of Study*. Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice, 1001-1022.
- Ellerman, D. (2003). Policy Research on Migration and Development. *World Bank Policy Research Paper*, 3117, Washington, D.C.
- Faist, T. (2000). Transnationalization in international migration: implications for the study of citizenship and culture. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 23(2), 189 – 222.
- Fargues, P. (2009). *Mediterranean Migration Report 2008-2009*. CARIM, Robert Schuman Centre for Advances Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute.
- Fielding, A. (1989). *Inter-regional migration and social change: a study of S.E. England based upon data from the Longitudinal Study*. Institute of British Geographers.
- Findlay, A., (1992). Population Geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 16, 88-97.
- Foner, N. (1997). What's new about transnationalism? New York immigrants today and at the turn of the century. *Diaspora*, 6, pp. 355-375.
- Freitag, U., and von Oppen, A. (2010). Introduction. "Translocality": An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies. *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*. Leiden: Brill.
- Garcia, B.L. (2012). Los Espanoles De Tanger. El Tema: Espanoles en el Norte de Africa: Demografia y Protectorada. *Awraq Journal*, no. 5-6 2012.
- Gergen, K. J. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. *American Psychologist*, 40, 266-275.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Glick Schiller, Basch, L., N. & Szanton Blanc, C. (1994). *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation States*. New York, Gordon and Breach.

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, Volume 8 Number 4 December 2003 597-607. University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Retrieved from: <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-4/golafshani.pdf>

Gosh, J. (2010). *The Global Economic Crisis and Migration*. Where do we go from here? International Organisation for Migration. Switzerland.
Retrieved from: http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/where_do_we_go.pdf

Granovetter, M.S. (1995). *Getting a job: A study of contacts and careers*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.

Grigg, D.B. (1977) E.G. Ravenstein and the "laws of migration". *Journal of Historical Geography*, 3, 1 (1977) 41-54
Retrieved from: <http://www.lcps.org/cms/lib4/VA01000195/Centricity/Domain/2584/Grigg%20on%20Ravenstein.pdf>

Guarnizo, L.E., Portes, A. & Haller, W. (2003). Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(6), pp. 1211-48.

Guarnizo, L.E. (1997). 'The emergence of a transnational social formation and the mirage of return migration among Dominican transmigrants,' *Identities* 4(2), pp. 281-322.

Haan de, A. (2000). Migrants, livelihoods and rights: the relevance of migration in development policies. *Social Development Working Paper* No. 4. Social Development Department. February 2000.
Retrieved from: <http://www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0708/DOC7584.pdf>

Haas de, H. (2009). Morocco. Country profile. *Focus Migration*, no 16, February 2009.

Haas de, H. (2011). The determinants of international migration. Conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects. International Migration Institute. *DEMIG project paper no. 2. Working papers*. Paper 32. April 2011. University of Oxford. 35 p. Retrieved from:
<http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/imi-working-papers/wp-11-32-the-determinants-of-internationalmigration>

Haas de, H. (2005). Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa's Migration Passage to Europe. Radboud University Nijmegen. October 2005.

Halfacree, K.H. and Boyle, P.J. (1993). The challenge facing migration research: the case for a biographical approach. *Progress in Human Geography* 17-3. Pp. 333-348.

Ham, van M., Mulder, C., Hooimeijer, P. (2001). *Spatial flexibility in job mobility: macrolevel opportunities and microlevel restrictions*.
Retrieved from: http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/socgeoplan/2007-0504200944/vanhammulderhooimeijer_01_spatial.pdf

Harris, J.R. and M. Todaro (1970). Migration, employment, and development: A two sector analysis. *American Economic Review*, 60, 126-42.

Hirschman, A.O. (1977). *Salida, voz y lealtad*. Fondo de Cultura Económica. Mexico.

Hustad, K. (2013) *The rise of Spanish Immigration to Morocco*. SIT Study Abroad Program. Round Earth Media.
Retrieved from: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2013/0321/The-world-upside-down-The-rise-of-Spanish-immigration-to-Morocco>

Hondagneu-sotelo, P. and Avila, E. (1997). "I'm here, but I'm there:" the meanings of Latina transnational motherhood. *Gender and Society*, 2, 548-71.

IMI (2010). *The Determinants of International Migration* (DEMIG). University of Oxford.
Source: <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/research-projects/demig>

İçduygu, A. (2006). *International Migrant Remittances in Turkey*. Florence: European University Institute.

Itzigsohn, J. & Saucedo, S.G. (2002). Immigrant Incorporation and Sociocultural Transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 36(3), pp. 766-798.

- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2011). *Preview of the Municipal Register*. Press Release, 4 april 2011. Retrieved from: http://www.ine.es/en/prensa/np648_en.pdf
- Jackson, J.A. (1969). *Migration*. London, Cambridge. Retrieved from [:http://books.google.nl/books?id=_kAUehyYqE8C&pg=PA126&lpg=PA126&dq=beshers+purposive+rational&source=bl&ots=5Surkyq0SbC&sig=x3zVspDYws0gkH_b0KMFu7_JY0&hl=nl&sa=X&ei=r9dLUtaXKoWekgXwj4GACA&ved=0CDMQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=beshers%20purposive%20rational&f=false](http://books.google.nl/books?id=_kAUehyYqE8C&pg=PA126&lpg=PA126&dq=beshers+purposive+rational&source=bl&ots=5Surkyq0SbC&sig=x3zVspDYws0gkH_b0KMFu7_JY0&hl=nl&sa=X&ei=r9dLUtaXKoWekgXwj4GACA&ved=0CDMQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=beshers%20purposive%20rational&f=false)
- Jayaweera, H., & Choudhury, T. (2008). *Immigration, faith and cohesion: Evidence from local areas with significant Muslim populations*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society.
- Jenkins (1996). *Social Identity*. Taylor & Francis Ltd.
- Kapur, D. and J. McHale (2005). *Give us your best and brightest*. Center for Global Development, Washington.
- Kassam, A. (2013). *Unemployed youth turn their backs on Spain*. Working in the 21st century. DW.DE. 01-04-2013. Retrieved from: <http://www.dw.de/unemployed-youth-turn-their-backs-on-spain/a-16703572>
- Koc, I. & Onan, I. (2004). International Migrants' Remittances and Welfare Status of the Left-Behind families in Turkey. *International Migration Review*, 38(1), pp. 78-110.
- Kraus, B. (2013). *Erkennen und Entscheiden*. Grundlagen und Konsequenzen eines erkenntnistheoretischen Konstruktivismus für die Soziale Arbeit. Beltz Juventa, Weinheim/Basel 2013.
- Lazar, A. (2011). *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*. Volume 2, Number 2, Fall 2011. Retrieved from: <http://compaso.eu/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Compaso2011-22-Lazar.pdf>
- Levitt, P. (2007). *Migration Fundamentals. Transnational Migrants: When "Home" Means More Than One Country*. Wellesley College and Harvard University. Retrieved from: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?id=261>
- Levitt, P. (2011). A Transnational Gaze. *International Migration*. Vol. 6, Number 1, January – June 2011. Retrieved from: <http://scielo.unam.mx/pdf/migra/v6n1/v6n1a1.pdf>
- Li, X. and McHale, J. (2009). Emigration and Institutions. *Working Paper*, Galway, National University of Ireland.
- Lichter, D. (1982). The migration of dual worker families: does the wife's job matter? *Social Science* 63, 48 – 57.
- Lucas, R.E.B. (1997). *Internal Migration in Developing Countries*. Boston University. Chapter 13 of Handbook of Population and Family Economics. Elsevier Science B.V.
- Mahler, S.J. (1998). Theoretical and empirical contributions toward a research agenda for transnationalism. *Transnationalism from Below*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, pp. 64-100
- Massey, D., L. Goldring and J. Durand (1994). Continuities in Transnational Migration: An Analysis of Nineteen Mexican Communities. *American Journal of Sociology* 99 (6), pp. 492-533.
- Milbrath, L. W. and Goel, (1977). *Political participation, How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* New York: University Press of America, 1977.
- Mincer, J. (1978). Family migration decisions. *Journal of Political Economy* 86, pp. 749-773.
- Nasa (2003). *Strait of Gibraltar perspective*. Shuttle Radar Topography Mission. Space Shuttle Endeavour. Retrieved from: <http://photojournal.jpl.nasa.gov/catalog/PIA03397>
- NOS (2012). *Spanjaarden ontvluchten de crisis*. Retrieved from: <http://nos.nl/video/394044-spanjaarden-ontvluchten-de-crisis.html>
- Oakes, T., and Schein, L. (2006). *Translocal China Linkages, Identities, and the reimaging of space*. London, Routledge.
- OECD (2012). *COUNTRY NOTES: RECENT CHANGES IN MIGRATION MOVEMENTS AND POLICIES* Retrieved from: http://www.oecd.org/els/internationalmigrationpoliciesanddata/IMO%202012_Country%20note%20Sp

ain.pdf

- Ortner, S.B. (2005). *Subjectivity and cultural critique*. Colombia University.
Retrieved from: http://scholar.google.nl/scholar_url?hl=nl&q=ftp://c-71-234-250-144.hsd1.ct.comcast.net/AiDisk_b1/Data/Anthropology%2520Archives/Anthropology%2520History%2520and%2520Theory/Subjectivity%2520and%2520Cultural%2520Critique%2520-%2520Ortner.pdf&sa=X&scisig=AAGBfm1doElw2ye9eepb6Y6WSSxZBQHCKA&oi=scholar&ei=xqZOUpbaGYrUkAX2uYDYDA&ved=0CDAQgAMoADAA
- Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The Turbulence of Migration*. Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Parsons, C.R., Skeldon R., Walmsley, T.L., Winters, L.A. (2007). Quantifying International Migration: A Database of Bilateral Migrant Stocks. *International Migration*, Economic Development and Policy, World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pascual-de-Sans, A. (2004). Sense of Place and Migration Histories and Idiotopie. *Area*, volume 36, Issue 4, pages 348–357, December 2004.
- Populations du Monde (2012). *La population de chaque pays*. Maroc.
Retrieved from: <http://populationsdumonde.com/fiches-pays/maroc>
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., Landolt, P. (1999). The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 22(2), pp. 217-37.
- Portes, A, Haller, W., Guarnizo L.E. (2001). Transnational entrepreneurs: the emergence and determinants of an alternative form of immigrant economic adaptation. *Working Papers Series*. Oxford: Transnational Communities Programme, Oxford University.
- Portes, A. (2001). Introduction: the debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism. *Global Networks*, 1(3), pp. 181-193.
- Portes, A. & De Wind, J. (2004). A Cross-Atlantic Dialogue: The Progress of Research and Theory in the Study of International Migration. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), pp. 828-851.
- Portes, A. (1978). Migration and Underdevelopment. *Politics & Society*, March 1978 8: 1-48.
- Potter R., Desai, V. (2010). *Doing Development Research*. p. 115-170
- Rapport, N. and A. Dawson (1998). *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement*, Oxford: Berg.
- Ribeiro, A., Rezaei, S. and Dana, L-P. (2012). Gender and family in transnational entrepreneurship. *Int. J. Business and Globalisation*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 409–420.
- Roseman, C. (1971). Migration as a spatial and temporal process. *Annals Association of American Geographers* 61. pp 589-98.
- Rouse, R. (1992). Making sense of settlement: Class transformation, cultural struggle, and transnationalism among Mexican migrants in the United States. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645: pp. 25-52
- Salih, R. (2003). *Gender in Transnationalism: Home, Longing and Belonging among Moroccan Migrant Women*. London: Routledge.
- Sana, M. (2005). Buying Membership in the Transnational Community: Migrant Remittances, Social Status, and Assimilation. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 24(3), pp. 231-261.
- Saxenian, A., (2005). From Brain Drain to Brain Circulation: Transnational Communities and Regional Upgrading in India and China, *Comparative International Development*, Fall 2005.
- Schapendonk, J. (2011) *Turbulent trajectories. Sub-Saharan African Migrants Heading North*. Dissertation for the Institute for Management Research of the Radboud Universiteit.

- Schiff, M. (1998). Migration Skill Composition of the Labor Force: The Impact of Trade Liberalization. *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 31 (2), pp. 318-336.
- Shaw, G. K. (1975). *Economic growth: policies and constraints*. Grant and Shaw eds. Current Issues in Economic Policy. Philip Allan.
- Shotter, J. (1984). *Social accountability and selfhood*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Simpson, W., (1992). *Urban Structure and the Labour Market: worker Mobility*. Commuting and Underemployment in Cities. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Sjaastad, L.A. (1962). The costs and returns of human migration. *Journal of Political Economy* 70(5) pp. 80-93.
- Smith, R. (2003). Diasporic memberships in historical perspective: comparative insights from the Mexican, Italian and Polish cases. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), pp. 724-759.
- Smith, M. P. & Guarnizo, L. E. (1998). *Transnationalism from below*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Snel, E. Leerkens, A., Engbersen, G., (2006). Transnational involvement and social integration. *Global Networks* 6, 3, pp. 265-284.
Retrieved from: <http://www.arjenleerkes.nl/Transnational%20involvement.pdf>
- SOPEMI (2006). *International Migrant Remittances and their Role in Development*. International Migration Outlook. OECD.
Retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/38840502.pdf>
- Sorensen, N. N. (2004). *Migrant Remittances as a Development Tool: The Case of Morocco*. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for Development Studies.
- Sriskandarajah, D. (2005). *Migration and Development*. Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration. Institute for Public Policy Research.
Retrieved from:
http://iom.ch/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy_and_research/gcim/tp/TP4.pdf
- Stark, O. (1991). *The Migration of Labor*. Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stark, O. & D.E. Bloom (1985). The new economics of labor migration. *American Economic Review*, 75 (2), pp. 173-178.
- Spring, J., (2009). *Globalization of Education: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge. p. 177.
- Tarvainen, S. (2012) *Spain's Emigrants*.
Retrieved from: <http://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/AFBPnews/conversations/topics/4221?var=1>
- Taylor, J. E. (1999). The new economics of labour migration and the role of remittances in the migration process. *International Migration* 37(1). Pp. 63-88.
- Thorne, J. (2012). *Spain loses title as Moroccans' land of opportunity*. The Christian Science Monitor.
Retrieved from: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2012/1022/Spain-loses-title-as-Moroccans-land-of-opportunity>
- Todaro, M. P. (1969). A model of labour emigration and urban unemployment in less developed countries. *American Economic Review*, vol 59, n° 1, 138-148.
- Trouw (2013). *Marokko is het nieuwe beloofde land*. Omgekeerde migratie: Spaanse bouwvakkers en koks bedelen in Tanger om een simpel baantje. 01-10-2013.
- UNDP (2009). Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development. *Human Development Report 2009*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- UNFPA (2005). *Linking Population, Poverty and Development. Migration: A World on the Move*.
Retrieved from: <http://www.unfpa.org/pds/migration.html>
- Vancluyse, K., Van Craeni, M., Ackaert, J., (2009). *Transnational activities and social-cultural integration of Moroccan and Turkish descendants in Flemish Belgium*. Session 138: Moroccan immigration and transnational networks.

- Veal, A.J. (2000). *Leisure and Lifestyle. A Review and Annotated Bibliography*. No. 8 School of Leisure, Sport & Tourism, University of Technology Sydney.
Retrieved from: <http://www.business.uts.edu.au/management/research/publications/bibliographies/biblifestyle.pdf>
- Verkuyten, M. (1999). *Etnische identiteit: theoretische en empirische benaderingen*, Amsterdam, Het Spinhuis.
- Vermeren, P., (2002). *Marruecos en transicion*. Almed editorial. pp. 7-18.
- Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), pp. 447-462.
- Vertovec, S. (2004). Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), pp. 970-1001.
- Voigt-Graf, C. (2002). *The Construction of Transnational Spaces: Travelling between India, Fiji and Australi*. PhD Thesis, Geography, University of Sydney.
- World Bank (2009). Morocco – Country Brief. World Bank Website. Retrieved from:
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/MENAEXT/MOROCCOEXTN>
- World Bank (2013). *Morocco. Country at a glance*. Retrieved from: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/morocco>
- World Bank (2013). *Spain. Country at a glance*. Retrieved from: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/spain>
- Zabalegui, A., Cabrera, E. (2010). Economic crisis and nursing in Spain. *Journal of Nursing Management* 18, pp. 505 – 508.
Retrieved from
:<http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy.library.uu.nl/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=4d8eb903-0ed5-4f1e-8b08-283847344fb4%40sessionmgr12&vid=3&hid=18>
- Zoomers, A., Westen van, G. (2011). Introduction: translocal development, development corridors and development chains. *International Development Planning Review* 33 (4), pp. 377-388.
- Zoomers, A. (2006). *Op zoek naar Eldorado: over internationale migratie, sociale mobiliteit en ontwikkeling*. Social Integration. Retrieved from: <http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/2066/29827/1/29827.pdf>

INTERVIEWS

1. Interview with Nabil Driouch, historian and editor at Medi 1 TV in Morocco, 23 April, 2013
2. Interview with Bernabe Lopez Garcia, Director of TEIM. Professor of Contemporary History of the Islam in the Autonomous University of Madrid, 02-03-2012
3. Interview with Amal Boussef, Director of the Spanish Consulate in Tangier, 06-06-2013
4. Telephonic interview with the Spanish Embassy in Rabat, 04-06-2013
5. Interview with Faoud el Omar, Mayor of Tangier, 16 april, 2013
6. Interview with Carlos, a mechanical engineer, on 26-04-2013
7. Interview with Carmelo Holguera, a civil engineer, on 20-04-2013
8. Interview with Antonio Azbitarte, a real estate project manager, on 18-05-2013
9. Interview with Remedios Cortes, a singer in the hotel branch, on 20-03-2013
10. Interview with Pablo, a restaurant owner, on 19-05-2013
11. Interview with Pedro Ballesteros, a teacher in Spanish language and literature, on 13-03-2013
12. Conversation with Pedro and Roberto, on 20-04-2013
13. Interview with Tony, a retired military, on 26-03-2013
14. Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013
15. Interview with Anna Jimenez, a music teacher at the conservatorium in Tangier, on 10-05-2013
16. Interview with Saida, a secretary, on 24-05-2013
17. Interview with Maryan Bernardi, co-owner and coordinator in event agency in Tangier, on 23-04-2013.
18. Interview with Roberto, an unemployed teacher in the Spanish language, on 02-04-2013
19. Interview with Juan Carlos, restaurant owner and cook in Tangier, on 23-03-2013
20. Interview with Alberto, a chemical engineer, on 26-04-2013

9. APPENDICES

The appendices of this study contain the basic trends in Spain and Morocco in appendix one and the Spanish migration to Morocco within the media in appendix two.

9.1. APPENDIX 1: BASIC TRENDS IN SPAIN AND MOROCCO

SPAIN



Population	46,217,961	2012
GDP	\$1,349,350,732,836	2012
GDP growth	-1.4%	2012
Inflation	2.4%	2012

Source: World Bank, 2013

MOROCCO



Population	32,521,143	2012
GDP	\$96,729,450,169	2012
GDP growth	2.7%	2012
Inflation	1.2%	2012

Source: World Bank, 2013

9.2 APPENDIX 2 – SPANISH MIGRATION TO MOROCCO WITHIN THE MEDIA

Melinda Mrini, a journalist within 2M, took me along during the production of the reportage on Spanish migration in Tangier. Below link shows the reportage on 2M, a national television channel in Morocco.

The screenshot shows the 2M website interface. At the top left is the 2M logo. To its right are navigation links: PROGRAMMES, INFOS, GUIDE TV, VIDEOS, REPLAY TV, and CLUB 2M. A search bar labeled 'Rechercher' is positioned to the right. Below the navigation is a banner for 'APPARTEMENTS HAUT STANDARD A TANGER' with contact information for 'TANGER CITY CENTER'. The main content area features a video player titled 'Grand angle: Jeudi 25 Avril' with a 5-star rating and '0 Votes'. The video shows a man and a woman, Lotte Rooijendijk, sitting at a table. A subtitle reads: 'Il est normal que les gens se déplacent du sud vers le nord,'. To the right of the video player is a public notice (PUBLICITÉ) for 'Grand angle: Jeudi 25 Avril' with the text: 'Deux grands reportages ce mois-ci sur Grand angle: le désenclavement d'Azilal et l'immigration espagnole'.

Link to reportage: <http://www.2m.ma/Programmes/Magazines/Societe/Grand-Angle/Grand-angle-Jeudi-25-Avril>